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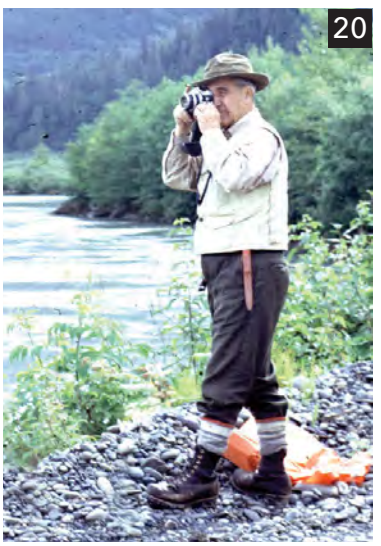

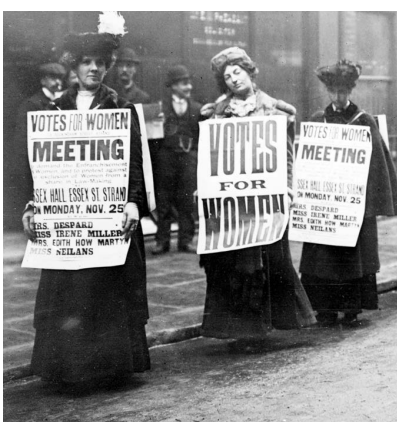

COMING UP IN CANADA'S HISTORY

Winning the Vote for Women

Some women in pre-Confederation Canada cast ballots by stealth or sheer force of will. But it took a long time for voting by women to become legal. Plus: Canadians who helped to win the Battle of Britain, and investigating the ghostly goings-on at our country's haunted historic sites.

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Canada's History magazine was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1920 as *The Beaver: A Journal of Progress*. The HBC's commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the Hbc History Foundation. Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

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Adieu New France

Imagine a Canada that stretches from Labrador to Louisiana, where the language of commerce and of daily conversation is French. To the south, along the eastern seaboard of the North American continent, a ragtag union of English-speaking colonies competes with the Spanish colonies of Florida and Cuba to the south. Out west, the great nation of Mexico stretches northward to modern-day Oregon, while the Russian empire controls the rest of the coast, from modern-day British Columbia to Alaska.

Sound far-fetched?

Well, it's far from it. If France had actually cared about its colony at Quebec, this scenario might very well be reality today.

Although the English had a head start on colonizing North America — for instance, Jamestown, Virginia, was founded in 1607, a year prior to the settlement at Quebec — it was by no means predestined that they would win the continent.

Indeed, prior to the start of the Seven Years' War, the thirteen English colonies were hemmed in by New France and its Aboriginal allies, who effectively controlled the interior of North America. It was English lust for the Ohio Valley region that provided the spark that set that war ablaze.

In "Empire Lost," military historian D. Peter MacLeod reveals the reasons why New France fell. And no, it wasn't simply because General James Wolfe's redcoats scaled the heights of Anse-au-Foulon and surprised the French on the Plains of Abraham.

Elsewhere in this issue, we dive deep into the mythology behind one of the most mysterious monsters from the age of sail. Since time immemorial, sailors have shared tales of sea monsters said to populate the oceans. Among the most feared was the legendary devilfish of the deep.

Sailors had long shivered at tales of ropy tentacles entwining ships and crew, but it wasn't until the 1800s that concrete evidence surfaced of the creature's existence.

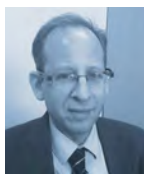
In "The Devilfish of Newfoundland," J.R. McConvey writes of a pastor from the Rock who opened his front door in 1873 and got the shock of his life — a close encounter with a giant squid.

Also in this issue, we explore efforts by First World War censors to hide the truth about the terrible trenches from Canadians, we reveal Canada's secret role in helping to create the atomic bomb, and we travel with a cadre of British would-be farmers who found more than they bargained for after arriving in Canada's West.

CONTRIBUTORS

D. Peter MacLeod ("Empire Lost") is the pre-Confederation historian at the Canadian War Museum. A long-standing student of the Seven Years' War in Canada, he is the author of *Northern Armageddon: The Battle of the Plains of Abraham*. He is currently completing *Backs to the Wall: The Battle of Sainte-Foy and the Conquest of Canada, 1760*.

J.R. McConvey ("The Devilfish of Newfoundland") is a Toronto-based writer and producer. With his company, FilmCAN, he co-created the Genie- and Gemini-winning National Parks Project, which explores the link between landscape and creativity. He writes for various publications.



Jeffrey A. Keshen ("War on Truth") is a historian of twentieth-century Canada, specializing in the home front of the world wars. Dean of arts at Mount Royal University, his publications include *Saints, Sinners, Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* and *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War*.

Keith Foster ("Grit & Gumption") writes reviews of Saskatchewan-published non-fiction and historical fiction for SaskBooks. His reviews appear online at SaskBooks and are carried in a half dozen Saskatchewan weekly newspapers. His Barr colonists article is his second for *Canada's History*.

Ron Verzuh ("Canada's A-bomb Secret") is a writer, historian, and documentary filmmaker who is currently completing his Ph.D. in history at Simon Fraser University. His thesis includes research into Canada's role in developing the atomic bomb.

PHOTO TOP LEFT: ANDREW WORKMAN

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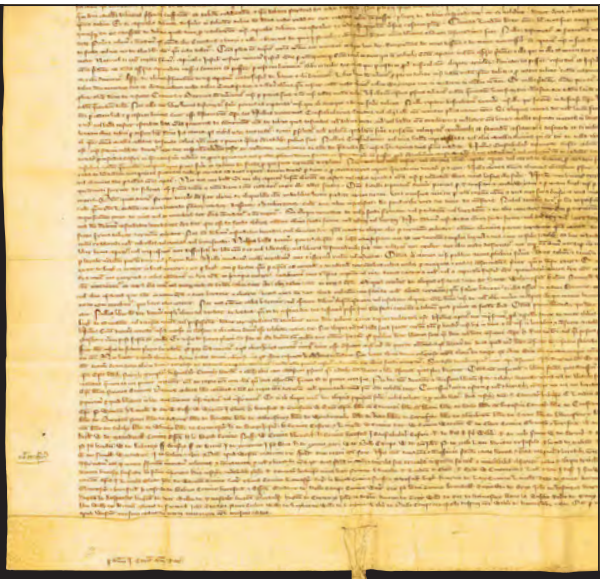

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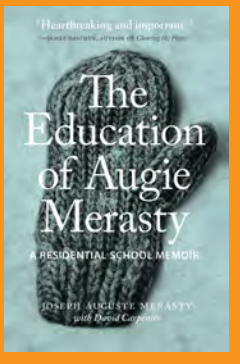

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Mark Medley, *Globe and Mail*

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A passion for the passage

Thank you for the article "Who Found the Northwest Passage?" by Ken McGoogan [June-July 2015]. Such a fascinating history of Canada, naval adventure, and Victorian values! I would be interested to read more about why this was so important. Were there other routes to the Orient? How long did it take to go around South America? Was this more about trade, or the conquest of the Americas? What was the driving force?

Jeff Hanger
Ponoka, Alberta

Help!

Regarding your caption to the picture of Polish soldiers marching with their flag flying upside-down "for some unknown reason" [Destinations, "The Polish connection," June-July 2015]: Flying of the national flag upside-down is the internationally recognized sign of distress, asking for aid. I flew our flag upside-down till it was worn out!

Doug Calver
Campbellford, Ontario

Counter-argument

Most of your readers will probably think counter-irritation [Currents, "Ills and thrills," June-July 2015] was silly quackery. They would be wrong. The old-timers used it because it worked. Today's version is selective endorphin stimulation, which enabled my seventy-five-year-old broken hip to heal in three weeks, rather than the six months predicted by our wonderful "modern medicine."

Glen Pearce
Cloyne, Ontario

Magna Carta redux

Your article "The Great Charter" [June-July 2015] states Magna Carta has been in Canada once before, in 2010. In fact, McMaster University exhibited the Lincoln copy in 1984 and again in 1990.

John (Jack) Talbot
Burlington, Ontario

Powerful poetry

I recall quite vividly the year I was in Grade 4 and learned "In Flanders Fields" for the first time. Our awesome teacher, Mrs. Metcalfe, taught us not only the poem but the story behind it. I grew up visualizing those scenes of the "crosses row on row," and I thoroughly enjoyed revisiting these memories with the April-May 2015 article "Born of Fire & Blood."

Sharlene Reid
Powell River, British Columbia

Peace in our hearts

The Vimy Foundation advertisement in the April-May issue sparked a thought in my mind: While Vimy may be "the day Canada became a nation," of far greater import to my generation was the day Canada sent its first United Nations peacekeeping troops to Egypt to calm the Suez Crisis. This was the day Canada's heart started beating!

Winston B. Jones
Riverview, New Brunswick

Candy crush

The very first issue of *Canada's History* delivered to my new home in Calgary featured a photo of Abbotsford, British Columbia, children in 1947 protesting the price hike in chocolate bars from five cents to eight cents [Currents, "Chocolate barred," April-May 2015]. A framed copy of that photo hung in my home when I lived in Abbottsford. It was a source of intrigue to my grandkids, who could only imagine an eight-cent chocolate bar.

Your article made my day!

Joan Kirsch
Calgary

An inspiring woman

I am impressed with your magazine! A friend of mine has just given me a copy because he knows I have written about the wonderful Dene woman Thanadelthur, and not only did you highlight this important Canadian historical figure ["Thanadelthur: Northern peacemaker united Chipewyan and Cree peoples," February-March 2015], but the rest of the magazine was also filled with worthwhile and interesting articles.

Jim Tanner
Calgary

A sinking feeling

I wrote a book on the lost Canadian merchant ships and I particularly liked "When torpedoes were fired at Newfoundland" [December 2014-January 2015]. Here is a story you might enjoy: A Nova Scotia father and son were both serving on the *Rose Castle* at the time, but the father was in hospital with pneumonia. A nurse cheerfully told him, "Well, you won't have to worry about getting back to that ship of yours — it's been sunk!" It was almost a week before he found out his son had survived.

Fraser McKee
Toronto

Erratum

The woman identified as ambulance driver Armine Gosling ["Angels Behind the Wheel" June-July 2015, page 40] was actually her mother, Armine Gosling Sr.

During the fur trade era, outposts regularly received "packets" of letters and correspondence. Email you comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada. Include your address and phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

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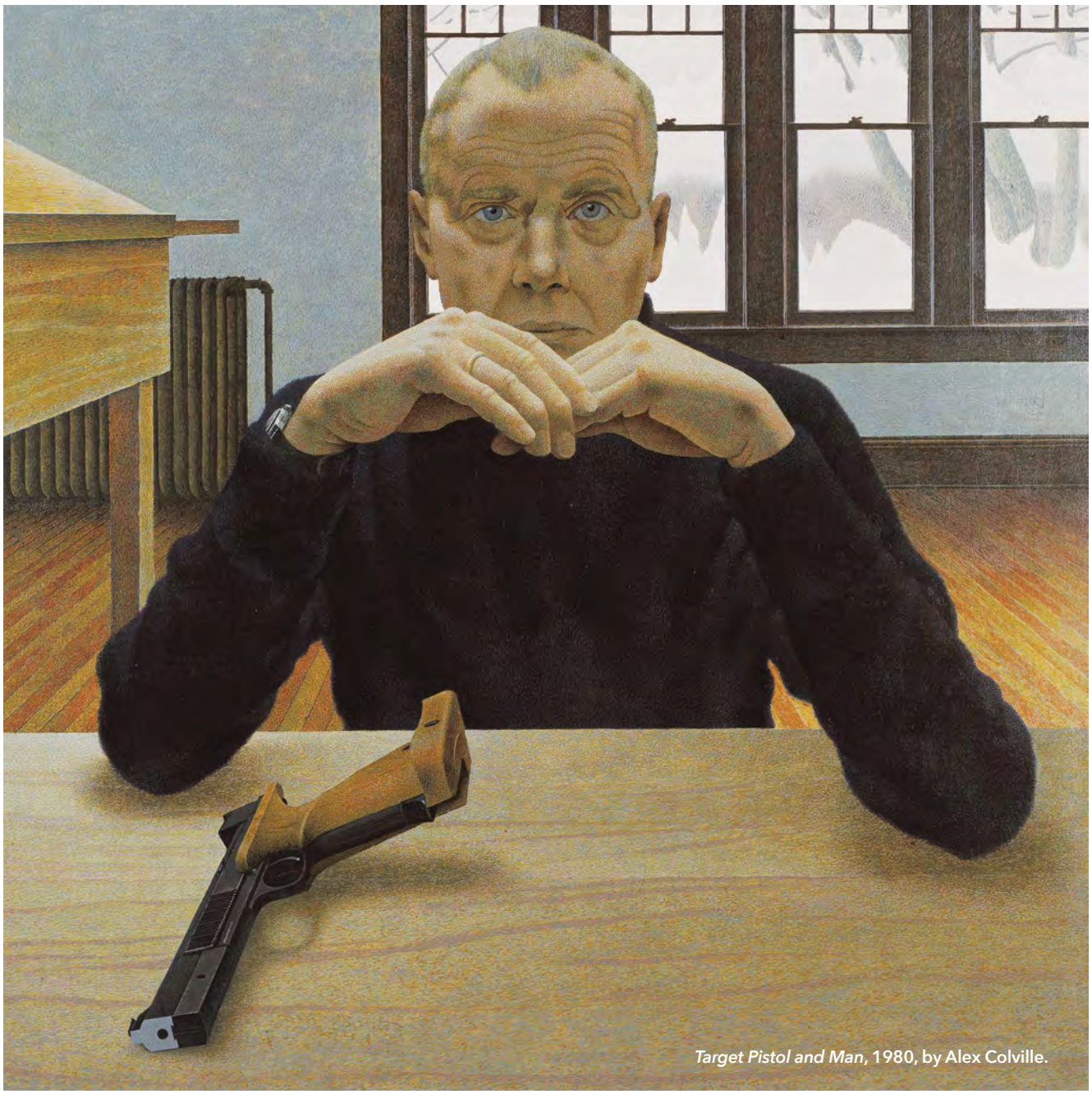


Target Pistol and Man, 1980, by Alex Colville.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

NEWS

Uneasy viewing

New exhibit explores Alex Colville's menacing masterpieces

His paintings have the power to move and to unsettle their viewers. Now, Alex Colville's rich art legacy is the subject of a major exhibit at the National Gallery of Canada (NGC).

The Ottawa exhibit, a collaboration between the Art Gallery of Ontario and the NGC, opened in April and runs until September 7, 2015. It features more than 250 paintings and sketches by Colville, a Second World War artist who went on to become one of Canada's most celebrated painters.

Born in Ontario but raised in the Maritimes, Colville painted in a realist style. He was inducted into the Order of Canada in 1967. Colville died in 2013. To see a gallery of his paintings, go to CanadasHistory.ca/Colville

LIVING HISTORY

A real character

Actor Paul Dyck was born to play Sir John A.

The 200th anniversary in 2015 of Sir John A. Macdonald's birth encouraged Canadians to think critically about the legacy of our first prime minister. Paul Dyck, of SALON Theatre Productions in Kingston, Ontario, regularly plays Macdonald and spoke to Canada's History online engagement coordinator Jessica Knapp about playing such a controversial character.

What's the typical reaction when people meet you in character?

Mostly the reaction is fairly positive. People are always keen to come up and shake my hand, get pictures taken with me, and sometimes people try to buy me drinks. I also get people who come up and gently criticize me about some of the more controversial issues around Sir John A. People also remark how much I actually resemble Sir John A.

What are some of the challenges of portraying Macdonald?

Being able to speak to both the positives and the negatives surrounding his legacy. You have to be social and good-natured and provide entertainment, but you also have to be aware that the character you're portraying has caused certain demographics pain and anguish, and you need to be able to address those concerns and issues with a modern voice.

Do you do a lot of research to play the role?

I love learning about history, and the more I can learn about Sir John A. the better I can play him, the better I can be him. At this point, you have to get up pretty early to stump me at John A. trivia.

In learning about the character, what has surprised you most?

For a man who was so boisterous, jovial, and energetic in the public eye, his personal life at home was often very tragic, silent, and miserable. He had a brother beaten to death in front of him, his father was a failure, his first son died at thirteen months, his first wife became ill, addicted to opium, and died after thirteen painful years of marriage, and his first daughter with his second wife was born with a severe handicap.

Is that your real hair?

My hair is completely natural and all me. I don't even have to do much to style it — it just comes like that. People often think it's a wig or that I have some long hair-care process, but in reality this is probably the only role where my hair was perfect for it.

OBJECT OF INTEREST

Fit for a queen

Queen Elizabeth II wore this "Maple Leaf of Canada" dress at a state banquet at Rideau Hall in Ottawa on October 14, 1957. The dress was designed by the Queen's couturier, Norman Hartnell.

This artifact is from the national collection of the Canadian Museum of History.

RIGHT: CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY
LEFT: SUN MEDIA

L.R. O'Brien. 1880.

BRUSH STROKES

Sunrise on the Saguenay, Cape Trinity

by Lucius R. O'Brien, 1880, oil on canvas, 90 x 127 cm

Lucius O'Brien helped to found some of Canada's most important art institutions. The painting shown here, *Sunrise on the Saguenay, Cape Trinity*, was his contribution to the first exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, whose collection gave a start to the National Gallery of Canada.

O'Brien's tenure as the academy's founding president followed his helping to establish the Ontario School of Art, forerunner to today's OCAD University. He also served as illustration editor for the ambitious 1880s publication *Picturesque Canada*, which celebrated the country's natural wonders.

Born in 1832 at Shanty Bay, Upper Canada, on the shore of Lake Simcoe, O'Brien worked as an architectural draftsman and civil engineer in Toronto, ran businesses in Orillia, and served in local politics before devoting himself full-time to art around the time he turned forty.

His technical skills were recognized when his paintings won prizes in 1852. He travelled much of Canada to paint landscapes that often invoked the relations between humans and nature.

This is O'Brien's best-known work and shows the influence of the sense for light that had been demonstrated by American luminist painters.

— Phil Koch

Refugees at an aid camp in Bidang, Malaysia, circa 1978–79.

NEWS

Safe harbour

Forty years ago, Canada opened its doors to thousands of refugees from Indochina who were fleeing their homelands as a result of the Vietnam War and other regional conflicts.

Between 1975 and 1994, Canada accepted more than 130,000 "boat people" from countries such as Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. To mark the fortieth anniversary of the immigration influx, the Canadian Immigration Historical Society has launched a new website — www.cihs-shic.ca — that offers photographs, memoirs, and other material providing insight into Canada's role during the Indochinese humanitarian crisis. The society is also encouraging former refugees to share their stories. For more on the refugee crisis, including a timeline of key events, go to: CanadasHistory.ca/Indochina.

TAKE THE DAY OFF ...

AUGUST 14 To note the kidnapping in 1934 of brewer John Sackville Labatt. Labatt was snatched at gunpoint by three men in masks, one of whom identified himself as "Three-fingered Abe." The kidnappers demanded a $150,000 ransom but chickened out before receiving it; they released Labatt after three days in captivity. Labatt, in turn, surprised police and reporters when he walked into the middle of a news conference about his kidnapping. Two of the kidnappers surrendered and were jailed, but the third escaped to the United States, only to be shot dead by an American gangster.

NEWS

Hooked on rugs

The Textile Museum of Canada hopes a new exhibit on historic rugs will weave some magic with visitors this fall. Home Economics: 150 years of Canadian Hooked Rugs opens in September 2015 and runs until January 2016. It will feature more than one hundred historic rugs from across the country, including a rug hooked by famed British Columbia artist Emily Carr. The exhibit is a centrepiece of the Textile Museum's fortieth anniversary celebrations taking place in 2015.

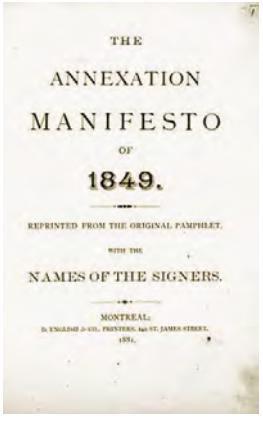
TOP: CANADIAN IMMIGRATION HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEWS

Moving pictures

Are you a fan of "found-footage" films? Here's your chance to be part of one. A Quebec filmmaker is hunting for footage for a new television project that will explore Canada's history through the home movies of Canadians. Eric Ruel, producer of the eight-part series (currently in production) won a Pierre Berton Award in 2011 for a French version of this project, entitled *J'ai la mémoire qui tourne*. Ruel and co-producer Guylaine Maroist used the submitted home movies to tell stories about the ways Canadians have lived, loved, worked, and played throughout the decades. The found footage includes all manner of films, from outdoors and sporting activities, to birthday parties and graduations, to scenes from weddings and family gatherings. If you wish to share your old family films, contact Ruel at prod@productionsdelaruelle.com. For more on *J'ai la mémoire qui tourne*, or on Ruel and Maroist's Pierre Berton win, go to CanadasHistory.ca/HomeMovies.

TAKE THE DAY OFF ...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SEPTEMBER 14

To mark the 1849 signing of the Montreal Annexation Manifesto, a document that called for Canada to join the United States. Created by a group of English merchants and French nationalists in Quebec, the document urged "peaceable separation from Great Britain." It condemned current systems of governance in Canada as "cumbrous" and "expensive" in comparison to the republican form of government practised by Americans. Despite their best efforts and arguments, the document's signatories failed to convince their fellow citizens to join the United States — disappointing the throngs of Americans who felt it was the "manifest destiny" of the U.S. to encompass all of North America.

SIGNPOSTS

Mayo, Yukon

Despite what you might think, this community of 450 did not get its name from the sandwich spread. It's named after Alfred Henry Mayo, a captain and trader who established himself in the Yukon by the 1870s and operated a trading post near the mouth of the Stewart River in the 1880s. Mayo operated trading posts along the Yukon River for many years. The town shares its name with a community in western Quebec, named by Irish settlers after County Mayo in the west of Ireland.

— Danelle Cloutier

TOP: COURTESY ERIC RUEL
BOTTOM LEFT AND RIGHT: PUBLIC DOMAIN

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HUDSON'S BAY
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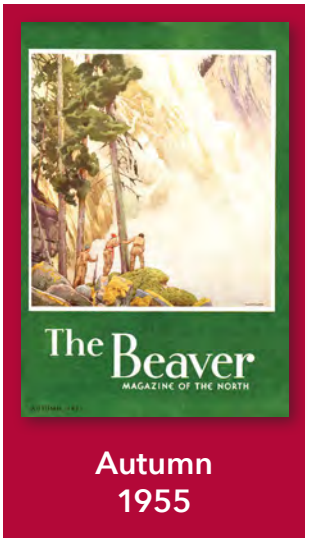
Traveller's cassette

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

French-Canadian voyageurs often had this type of carrying box in tow when travelling. They called these boxes "cassettes" to differentiate them from "pieces," the name for packs of trade goods. Carpenters crafted these travellers' cassettes at fur-trading posts with mobility in mind — the boxes varied in size and had a number of compartments to hold tins, cups, cutlery, tools, and spices. Hudson's Bay Company traders and clerks also used wooden trunks like this to carry personal belongings. The cassette seen here was once owned by George Simpson McTavish Jr., who was born at Fort Albany on the west coast of James Bay. In 1878, at age fifteen, McTavish joined the HBC ship *Prince of Wales*, which had sailed from England to the Moose Factory post to collect furs. McTavish also served as an apprentice clerk at York Factory, beginning in 1879, and as a clerk at Fort Churchill, beginning in 1882. He held the latter position until his retirement from the company in 1892.

— Danelle Cloutier

IN THE BEAVER …



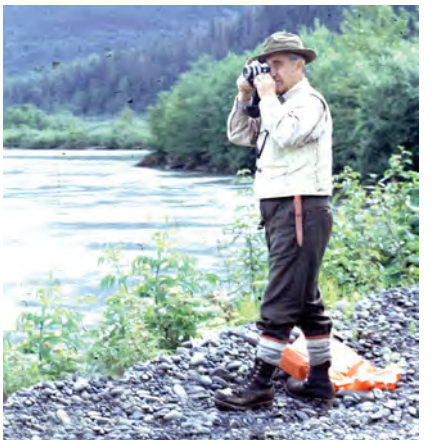
For nearly fifty years, bighorn sheep were extinct in Oregon – until, in the early 1950s, trappers sent the state twenty-five sheep from Deer Park ranch in Chilcotin, British Columbia. In the Autumn 1955 issue of *The Beaver*, Zeta Graysen told how trappers flushed sheep down a ridge, grappled with them, and tied them up. Their efforts helped to increase the sheep's North American population.

The inside front cover of the same issue features a woman dressed in a luxurious evening cloak made from eighteen white Arctic fox pelts. The model sports glittering jewellery, long silk gloves, and a green gown. In 1955, the coat appeared at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto and at fashion shows in Paris, Milan, and Brussels.

James Simpkins illustrated a fictional story by Harry Taylor about a Mountie who tried to incarcerate Ole, a Herculean lumberjack. When Ole refuses to enter a prisoner's cell, Mounties rush at the giant man. They struggle for eleven and a half hours and finally get him into the cell, but their adventure doesn't end there – they next have to relocate him to Regina.

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to CanadasHistory.ca/TradingPost. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to hbcheritage.ca, or follow them on Twitter and Instagram at @HBCHeritage.

ARTIFACT FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN



Above: Vladimir Krajina, a former University of British Columbia forestry professor, was a seminal figure in the development of the field of ecology. Left: Krajina, right, is interviewed by his biographer, Jan Drabek.

Force of nature

Influential ecologist faced down Nazis and Communists before fleeing to Canada.

I grew up close to the forests of British Columbia, but I probably assumed that Greenpeace invented ecology around 1968. I was quite unaware of Vladimir Krajina, the influential forestry professor at the University of British Columbia who campaigned for ecological forestry in the 1950s. "Nothing will grow here for a hundred years!" he said of the forestry practices then prevailing in the province.

Krajina argued that trees had to be studied along with the flowers, animals, and microclimates around them. He began to assemble ecological maps, defining each bio-geological zone and classifying the province's forests. Then he campaigned for ecological reserves to be set aside in every unique zone. The province passed the Ecological Reserve Act in 1971, and by 2011 there were 148 of them.

In British Columbia, the scope of forest preservation is always controversial. Not all of Krajina's forest plans have been fulfilled. But the concepts he fathered became standard; pioneers of the modern ecology movement acknowledged Krajina's leadership. Fittingly, his contributions to Canadian forestry earned him many honours, including professional recognition, honourary degrees, the creation of the Vladimir J. Krajina Ecological Reserve on Haida Gwaii, and, in 1982, appointment into the Order of Canada.

Krajina's Canadian career was only half of his story. In 1939, he was among the scholars and intellectuals drawn into the resistance against the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. "There were military resisters who did crazy bold things," says his biographer, who also notes that Krajina "had a gift for organization." He coordinated the intelligence gathering that sent some twenty thousand coded messages to the Allied command. Captured in 1943, Krajina survived to accept the surrender of his Gestapo tormentors. Honoured by Winston Churchill, he became a force in the postwar politics of Czechoslovakia.

The Stalinist takeover put an end to all that, for Krajina opposed the Communists as fiercely as he had the Nazis. In 1948, aged forty-two, Krajina took his family into exile. His new life practising forestry in Vancouver began. The Communist regimes of Eastern Europe would endure forty more years.

When Communism collapsed in 1989, Krajina was almost eighty-five and had retired in Vancouver. He and his family made a return visit to Czechoslovakia in 1990, and his birth country, suddenly free again, rediscovered him as a patriot and a hero. Already a holder of the highest Canadian civilian honour, Krajina received its ancient Czech equivalent, the Order of the White Lion, from then President Vaclav Havel.

Krajina died in Vancouver in 1993, and I learned his story from another remarkable Czech Canadian. Jan Drabek's father was a resistance colleague of Krajina's — and an Auschwitz survivor — who also took his family into exile in 1948. Jan Drabek had a long career as a teacher and writer in Vancouver. When he returned to Czechoslovakia, he served for several years as a Czech diplomat and chief of protocol. Today, returned to Vancouver, he continues to write in both English and Czech, with books that include *Thirteen*, a memoir of his teenage escape from Czechoslovakia, and the biography of Vladimir Krajina.

Canada continues, sometimes reluctantly, to shelter refugees from oppressive regimes. Will some, like Vladimir Krajina, achieve great things in Canada — and return home as heroes, too? Yes, probably. Canada will be the better for it.

Jan Drabek's Vladimir Krajina: World War II Hero and Ecology Pioneer *was published by Ronsdale Press in 2012. Christopher Moore comments in every issue of* Canada's History.

PHOTOS: COURTESY JAN DRABEK

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CANADA'S HISTORY

A Drummer's Fear, by contemporary artist Jaime Cooper, depicts French forces as they begin to break formation at the Plains of Abraham in 1759.

EMPIRE LOST

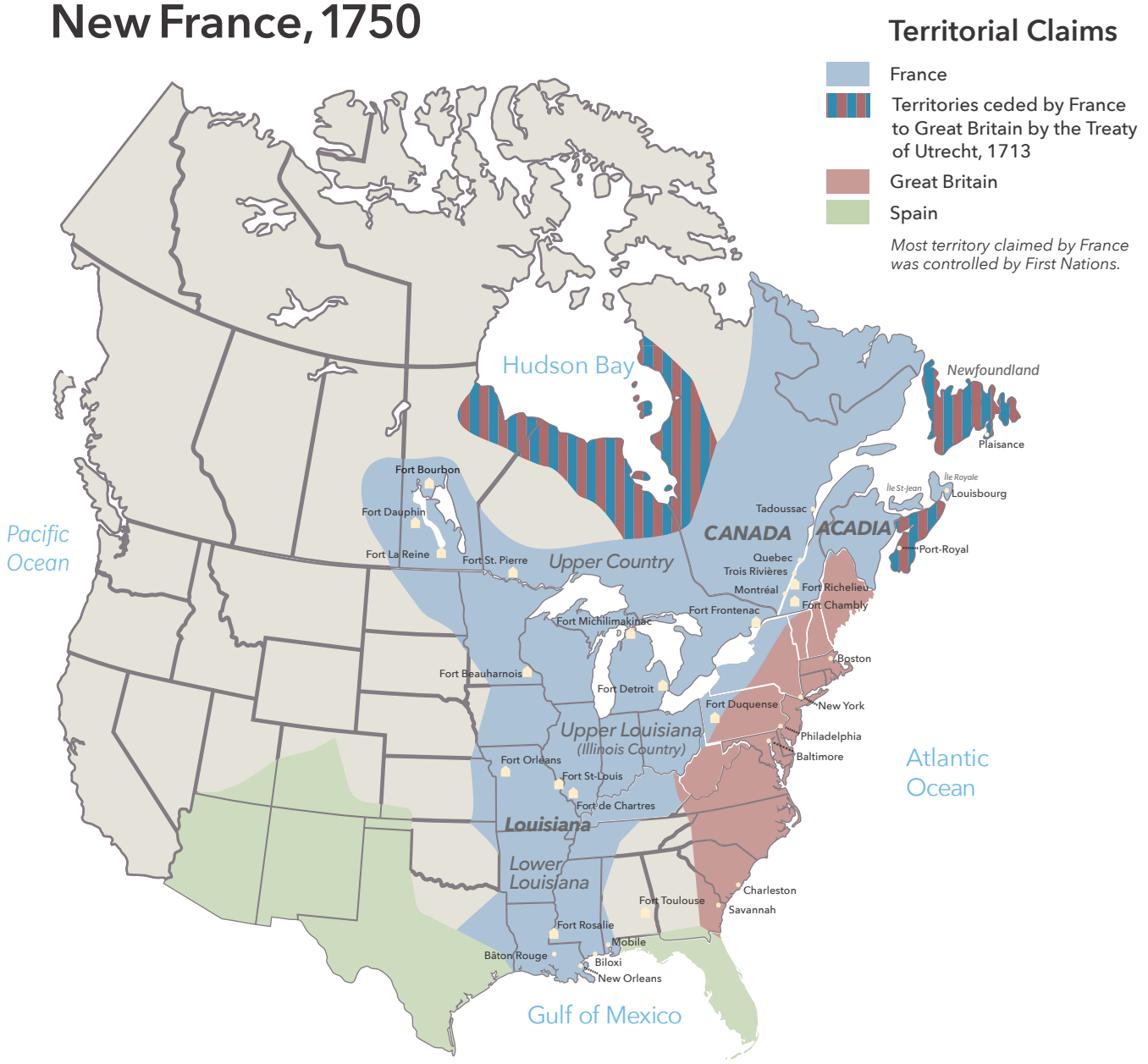
How much did France want to keep Canada? After a century and a half of colonizing the region, not much, it turns out.

by D. Peter MacLeod

IN 1753, the French state seemed like a permanent fixture on the North American landscape. French settlers had adapted to life in environments much harsher than the ones they left behind. They had created new identities for themselves and had built farms, towns, cities, fishing stations, ports, colleges, convents, and cathedrals that would not have looked out of place in Normandy or Île-de-France. They maintained alliances with the First Nations with whom they shared the St. Lawrence Valley and with those who controlled a vast stretch of territory from the Atlantic to the prairies.

JAIME COOPER

New France, 1750



The white flag of the Bourbons flew over towns and cities from Louisbourg on the Atlantic coast to Montreal on the St. Lawrence River and to New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico as well as in dozens of outposts in the continental interior. Elaborate carvings of the French royal arms hung on city gates and major public buildings to remind the European population of their status as French subjects.

In Acadia — a region that included parts of what is now eastern Quebec, the Maritime provinces, and Maine — French settlers had turned coastal salt marshes into productive farmland. Although France had ceded much of Acadia to Britain in 1713, the Acadians survived as Catholic francophones.

Contemporary travellers in what was then called Canada — present-day southern Quebec — described the achievements of French settlers in glowing terms. In 1759, an anonymous volunteer with the British navy wrote admiringly of the city of Quebec: "This city, the metropolis of the French dominions in America, may vie with many in Europe, it is the see of a bishop, and contains within its walls seven parish churches, besides a magnificent cathedral. The governor's and bishop's palaces, though not very regular, are fine structures. The college of Jesuits is a noble large building, with spacious gardens; and all the buildings, both public and private, seem to me composed of free-stone, and erected in the European taste; entertaining ... the beholder with a beautiful and noble prospect."

At around the same time, Captain John Knox of the British army described the pleasant countryside around Trois-Rivières: "Their … fair-looking houses, their situation on the banks of a delightful river, … the country on both sides interspersed with neat settlements, together with the verdure of the fields and trees, afforded, with the addition of clear pleasant weather, as agreeable a prospect as the most lively imagination can conceive."

In France, however, influential people, notably the writer Voltaire, had less flattering things to say about Canada: "Canada, a

MATTHEW YATHON

Some eighteenth-century French intellectuals viewed Canada as a wintry wasteland, as seen in Cornelius Krieghoff's *The Blizzard, 1858*.

country covered with snows and ices eight months of the year, inhabited by barbarians, bears, and beavers," Voltaire wrote in 1753. In Voltaire's novel *Candide*, a character famously states, "You know that these two nations are at war about a few acres of snow somewhere around Canada."

Voltaire's attitude was shared by at least one French officer serving in Canada during the Seven Years' War. Three days before the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, Colonel Louis-Antoine de Bougainville wrote to a friend in British General James Wolfe's army, saying, "I am of the same opinion as Voltaire … we are fighting for a few acres of snow in this country."

And, after two years of serving as New France's Governor General, Roland-Michel Barrin de La Galissonnière also concluded that Canada was of questionable worth: "One cannot deny," Galissonnière wrote in 1750, "that this colony has always been an expense to France, and it appears that this will continue for a very long time."

As it turned out, Canada would not burden France for long.

By 1763, the French state had been expelled from mainland North America. The French colonies of Canada and Louisbourg — so impressive, so established, and seemingly eternal in 1753 — had vanished into the British provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia. The Union Jack had replaced the Bourbon banner; crests bearing the French royal arms from the gates of Quebec had been carried off to Britain as trophies. French America had been reduced to St. Pierre and Miquelon, a pair of tiny islands off the southwest coast of Newfoundland, and the right to dry codfish on designated Newfoundland beaches. Canadians had become, and Acadians remained, British subjects living under British rule; Louisbourg was an abandoned ruin.

"Two nations are at war about a few acres of snow."

–Voltaire

The immediate causes of this transformation were the 1759 Battle of the Plains of Abraham and the 1763 Treaty of Paris. These events came about as the results of a war that began not so much because Britain wanted Canada but because British colonials wanted the Ohio Valley.

For First Nations of the region, the Ohio Valley, located between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, was their homeland, where they lived in autonomous communities surrounded by the managed forest that provided their livelihood. Some individuals and families, including Mohawks from Kahnawake, just outside Montreal, had travelled there in search of a place to live their lives free from European interference.

For a group of Virginia entrepreneurs, including future president George Washington's older brothers, the Ohio Valley was a glittering real estate opportunity. Having acquired a grant of two hundred thousand hectares from the British Crown in 1749 —

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Governor General Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil feared British expansion in North America.

and with the potential to receive three hundred thousand hectares more — the Ohio Company of Virginia planned to make immense fortunes by selling First Nations land to individual settlers. Grant in hand, and considering the region to be their private property, the investors organized a survey of the region, built a road across the Appalachians, and constructed an outpost on the Monongahela River, a tributary of the Ohio.

Canadians had nothing to gain by opposing the westward march of British settlement. Their government, however, saw the Virginian advance as a danger to France that needed to be stopped.

By the mid-eighteenth century, British settlers had converted a vast stretch of First Nations territory east of the Appalachians into a second Britain whose settler population generated enormous quantities of raw materials and created a massive market for British manufacturers. Left unchecked, the British Americans might one day cross the Appalachians into the Mississippi Valley and perhaps conquer Mexico and the French West Indies, making Britain into a transatlantic superstate strong enough to dominate Europe and the Atlantic world.

"One cannot express," wrote Governor General Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil in 1716, "to what point the power of England would increase if she seized the rest of North America and how formidable this power would become in Europe."

With British settlers poised to swarm into the Ohio Valley, the French decided that the moment had come to draw a line in the forest. In 1753, an expedition from Canada established a chain of supply depots extending south from Lake Erie into the Ohio country and sought the support of local First Nations. A year later, the Ohio Company built a fort on the site of modern-day Pittsburgh, at the strategic junction of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers. Regulars and militia from Canada expelled the Virginians, demolished their fort, and replaced it with Fort Duquesne.

The Ohio Company and the colony of Virginia responded by sending George Washington and a small army to assert Virginian control over the region. A First Nations-French force defeated Washington and forced him to withdraw back across the Appalachians.

Had the Virginians and the British government meekly accepted this reverse, or pushed back with a colonial force whose actions were limited to the Ohio Valley, the conflict might have rolled on without ever posing a threat to Canada and Louisbourg.

Instead, it exploded into an international incident that quickly led to the outbreak of open war between France and Britain, first in northeastern North America, then in Europe and around the world. Both powers reinforced their North American colonies with metropolitan regulars, and the British planned an aggressive assault on Canada's frontiers.

This escalation represented an ominous development for New France. Although heavily outnumbered — in the 1750s, seventy thousand Canadians faced 1.2 million British Americans — Canada had more than held its own in previous French-British wars. Sea power gave the British a significant advantage in the maritime region, leading to victories like the conquest of Acadia in 1710 and the capture of Louisbourg in 1745. But in the continental interior a rough equilibrium prevailed. While there were far more British colonials, their power was weakened by intercolonial disunity and internal political divisions. The Canadians, though fewer in number, were bolstered by a unified command, a professional garrison, First Nations alliances, an effective militia, and a formidable geography.

This long-standing equilibrium might have been abruptly overturned if the British had taken advantage of their superior maritime and financial resources to blockade Canada's Atlantic approaches, to deploy more regulars to North America than the French, and to mobilize more colonial troops than British colonies had ever managed on their own.

Nonetheless, in the first year of the war, it seemed as if nothing had changed but the sizes of the armies. The British took the offensive but limited their objectives to expelling the French from disputed territory. In 1755 these efforts led to the capture of Fort Beauséjour in Acadia and the deportation or flight of Acadians from Nova Scotia, a draw on the Lake Champlain frontier, and a crushing defeat at the Battle of the Monongahela in the Ohio Valley.

The French responded to the British offensives with pre-emptive strikes that captured British frontier outposts before they could be used as staging points for advances into French territory. They also built Fort Carillon on Lake Champlain to guard Canada's southern limits. Commanded by Vaudreuil, a capable, dynamic leader, the French armies, accompanied by First Nations warriors, captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario in 1756 and Fort William Henry on Lake George in 1757. When a powerful British army advanced down the Lake Champlain Valley in 1758, it broke and shattered against a French army entrenched outside Fort Carillon.

Canadians, inspired by these victories and confident of future success, composed a series of popular songs mocking their British adversaries. This one was composed by Mère Sainte-Hélène (Marie-Andrée Regnard Duplessis), superior of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec, who mailed it to a friend in France in October of 1758: "The English search for laurels,/ Just like our fighters./ That's the resemblance./

PUBLIC DOMAIN

This painting by Richard Paton shows the French ships *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant* burned and captured by the British at Louisbourg in 1758.

The French gather them in heaps,/ The English can't harvest them at all./ That's the difference." (*L'Anglais cherche des lauriers,/ Autant en font nos guerriers,/ Voilà la ressemblance./ Les Français en font amas,/ L'Anglais n'en moissonne pas,/ Voilà la différence.*)

Yet each French-First Nations victory made British America stronger and New France relatively weaker. The British, who could have given up and remained on the defensive, reacted to defeat and humiliation by committing more troops, more ships, and more money to North America. Moreover, they shifted their objective. Instead of simply securing their colonies by occupying disputed boundary areas, they decided to eliminate the French threat once and for all by conquering Canada and the Île Royale (present-day Cape Breton) fortress of Louisbourg.

Each French-First Nations victory made British America stronger and New France relatively weaker.

Henceforth, in place of harassing the land frontiers of Canada, the British would strike at their opponent's centre of gravity, the maritime link with France that provided the troops, provisions, and munitions the French needed to make war in North America. Severing this link meant taking Quebec, Canada's only Atlantic port and the one place the French had to hold if they were going to stay in the war. "By going to Quebec," wrote a senior British officer in January of 1757, "success makes us master of everything."

This change of direction tilted the naval and military balance in favour of Britain. Operating in the interior, British soldiers moved slowly and painfully as they hacked roads through forests and across mountains and hauled armadas of small boats over portages, all the while threatened with attacks by First Nations and Canadian war parties. The French meanwhile took advantage of interior lines of communications along Canada's waterways to shift resources quickly from one frontier to another to counter British movements.

On the high seas and the Atlantic coast, however, Britain could exploit a fundamental weakness of the French colonial empire. Eighteenth-century France maintained a network of overseas colonies in a world where Britain was the paramount naval power and where every French possession around the world was vulnerable to seaborne attack. British fleets could take British armies anywhere there was water enough to carry them and could strike at will at times and places of their choosing.

In 1758, they chose to send the Royal Navy and a fleet of transports carrying a British army to Louisbourg. Led by Major General Jeffery Amherst and Brigadier James Wolfe, that army pounded the formidable French fortress into submission in a forty-nine-day siege and followed up by deporting Louisbourg's civilian population to France.

In 1759, Britain sent two armies against Quebec. The first, led by Amherst, now commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, would advance along Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River, take Montreal, and proceed down the St. Lawrence River to Quebec. That didn't quite work out as planned. Rather than attacking Quebec, Amherst spent the summer building a vast fortress at

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

Crown Point, at the southern end of Lake Champlain, to defend New York against an invasion from Canada.

For a long time, it appeared that the second British advance on Quebec would prove to be equally ineffective. A grand armada, forty-nine Royal Navy warships and 117 British and American transports, carried an army led by James Wolfe, now a major general, straight up the St. Lawrence, arriving at Quebec on June 28, 1759. The safe arrival of a powerful army and fleet in the heart of French North America represented a striking achievement for the British. Nonetheless, Wolfe's siege of Quebec began in failure and continued in crisis.

Vice-Admiral Charles Saunders, in command of the fleet that carried Wolfe's army, had sent a squadron ahead to intercept supply ships from France carrying the provisions Canada needed to stay in the war. But the French convoy managed to arrive first and safely delivered its cargo. The French had also established a defended perimeter to shield Quebec. This consisted of a line of entrenchments along the Beauport shore to the east and a chain of posts covering paths and roadways up the side of the Quebec promontory to the west.

Six years of warfare in North America came down to an exchange of volleys between two armies, one in formation, one scattered.

For over two months, Saunders and Wolfe tried and failed to force their way into this perimeter or to lure the French army outside. They bombarded Quebec until it was a city of ruins. They sent raiding parties into the countryside, burning the buildings on 1,400 Canadian farms to ashes. Yet the French held their ground. A major attack on the Beauport entrenchments led to a dramatic French-First Nations victory at Montmorency.

By September of 1759, it looked as if France had won the campaign. The British would soon be sailing back down the St. Lawrence, it seemed. But on September 13 Saunders and Wolfe made one last attempt to take Quebec. Arriving under the cover of darkness at Anse-au-Foulon, a cove at the foot of the steep cliff just west of the city, Saunders' ships and boats quietly started landing Wolfe and six thousand troops. The first to arrive quickly climbed the steep cliff and surprised the French sentries at the top. After overcoming stiff resistance from Canadian militia, Wolfe's soldiers advanced to the Plains of Abraham, where they took up position between one French army located east of Quebec and a second army to the west and waited for the French to react.

About 3,400 French regulars, Canadian militia, and First Nations warriors advanced to the Plains of Abraham. Following the advice of Canadian militia officer Jean-Baptiste-Paschal Magnan, the French army formed on the Buttes-à-Neveu, a fifteen-metre hill just outside Quebec. Posted at the head of a rugged slope, the French army could have stayed there, awaited reinforcements, brought up heavy guns from the city, and dared the British to come to them.

MCCORD MUSEUM

Lieutenant General Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, the French commander, chose to throw away these opportunities. Lacking confidence in the Canadian militia he had incorporated into his regular battalions, he feared the consequences of leaving the British in place for one moment longer than necessary. "If we give him the chance to dig in," he told a subordinate, "we will never be able to attack with the kind of troops that we have."

At about 10:00 a.m., Montcalm ordered his troops to charge Wolfe's line. The troops set off at a run; broken terrain disrupted the French formation. "We hadn't gone twenty steps," wrote Cap-

Wolfe Scaling the Heights of Abraham by R. Caton Woodville.

tain Anne-Joseph-Hyppolyte Maurès de Malartic, "before the left was too far behind and the centre too far in front." Moments into the charge, Montcalm had lost control of his troops, as individual soldiers began to decide whether to advance or to hold position, go straight ahead or to the left or right, and when to open fire. For Malartic, September 13, 1759, was about to become "a day that I'd like to forget for the rest of my life."

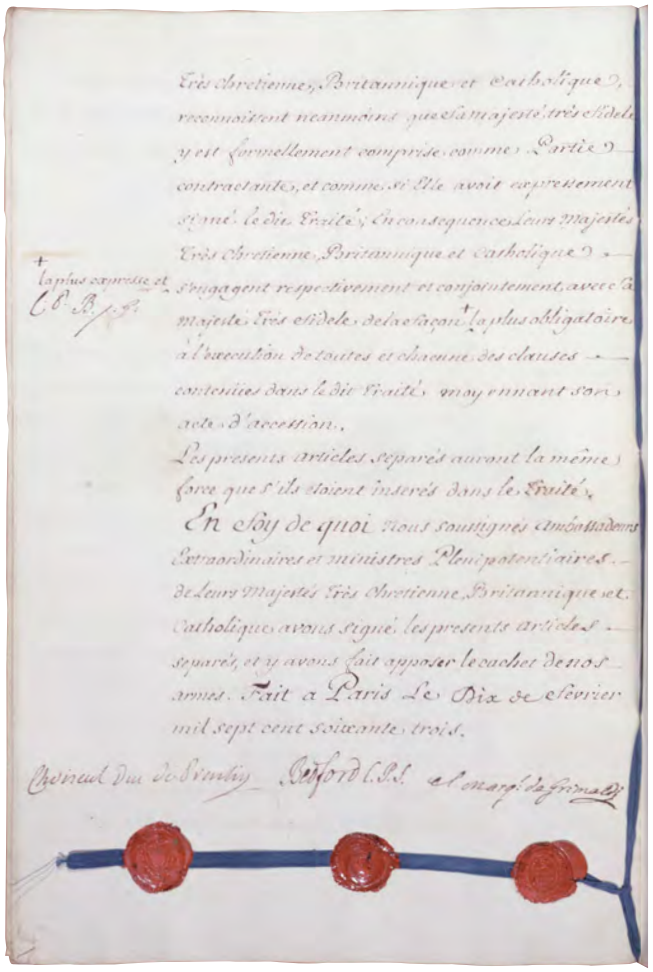
Brave but disorganized, Montcalm's army advanced to within about twenty-five metres of Wolfe's line. The subsequent firefight was brief, brutal, and decisive, as six years of warfare in North America came down to an exchange of volleys between two armies, one in formation, one scattered across the field. Remaining in formation gave Wolfe's troops an overwhelming advantage.

The Canadian militia and First Nations warriors covered the retreat of the French regulars, forcing the British to fall back three times before they themselves were driven off the field. Yet the French army retreated that night, abandoning Quebec, which capitulated five days later.

The French and their First Nations allies made a desperate attempt to recapture Quebec in the spring of 1760. Although they

Right: French King Louis XV chose Guadeloupe over Canada.

Far right: A signed and sealed page from the 1763 Treaty of Paris.



broke the British army at the Battle of Sainte-Foy, they lacked heavy artillery to batter down the walls. The Royal Navy lifted the siege, and the French-First Nations army withdrew. That summer, three British armies advanced on Montreal, where the French surrendered Canada on September 8, 1760, and the First Nations of the St. Lawrence Valley negotiated a new alliance with the British.

In themselves, the British conquests of Louisbourg and of Canada did not immediately change their status as French colonies. Although Britain compelled Canadians to take an oath of allegiance to George III, Canada and Louisbourg remained occupied French possessions whose future remained subject to negotiation. During the previous war, a New England-Royal Navy expedition had captured Louisbourg, only to see it returned to France following the end of hostilities.

The same might have occurred when Britain and France negotiated an end to the Seven Years' War. The British, who had captured French colonies all around the world, could have been expected to give up some, but not all, of these territories. Whether Canada and Louisbourg would be among them depended upon how much France was willing to give up to get them back.

The answer turned out to be nothing at all.

Louisbourg — a thriving seaport and fortress that had been expensive to build and maintain — was no longer of interest to the French. The only thing in the region that really mattered was the fishery. The Atlantic fishing grounds were what had first attracted Frenchmen to the coasts of North America, and the industry had flourished for centuries. Newfoundland fishing waters provided France with an important source of protein and a valuable export commodity, along with trained sailors who could be drafted into the navy in wartime.

"Without the preservation of the fisheries," warned the St. Malo, France, chamber of commerce in 1761, there would be "no sailors, no navy, [and] no real power."

French negotiators accordingly informed their British counterparts that continued access to the Newfoundland fisheries was non-negotiable. The British conceded, provided that France refrained from constructing fortifications in the region. Articles V and VI of the Treaty of Paris reflected these deliberations: "The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland [from Cape Bonavista to Pointe Riche, on the north shore of the island], such as it is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; … And his Britannick Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the Most Christian King [Louis XV] the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence.… The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Macquelon [Miquelon], in full right, to his Most Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen; and his said Most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands; to erect no buildings upon them but merely for the conveniency of the fishery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police."

As for Canada, when given the choice between recovering Canada or the island of Guadeloupe, where enslaved Africans produced vast quantities of valuable sugar, the French notoriously chose Guadeloupe.

The Canadians had fought long and hard for France. On the Plains of Abraham, the Canadians had stood their ground when French regulars fled in panic. Even in British-occupied territory during the winter of 1759–60, they remained loyal to the Bourbon crown. Canadian nun Marie de la Visitation recorded that several British officers had told her "that they had never seen a people so attached and so faithful to their prince as the Canadians."

Like the Canadians, allied First Nations had remained in the field alongside the French until the last days of the war.

But Canada had cost the French government a great deal of

PUBLIC DOMAIN

Entry of the British Troops into Montreal, 1760, by Adam Sherriff Scott.

money and had contributed very little in return. Canadians and, through the fur trade, First Nations constituted at best a minor market for French exports. Taxes from Canada did not begin to cover the cost of the colonial administration. Metropolitan military spending, on the other hand, financed careers for Canadian nobles, contracts for the entrepreneurs who could make their fortunes supplying the troops and building and maintaining fortifications, and a market for surplus agricultural products. Subsidies to the church financed education and social services

So on February 23, 1763, a day that should loom as large in Canada's history as September 13, 1759, King Louis XV of France approved the terms of the Treaty of Paris, which had been signed by French and British emissaries thirteen days earlier. Under the terms of Article IV: "His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed or might have formed to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: Moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence."

With Canada ceded to Britain and hostilities at an end, the French fishing fleet returned to Newfoundland waters and its new base at St. Pierre and Miquelon and continued to fulfil vital economic and military functions. Year after year, the fishermen continued to sail each spring for the Grand Banks, and the French empire continued on its course as if Canada had never existed and had never been lost.

The British conquest and French cession hit former French subjects very hard. Marie de la Visitation had harsh words for the French who, in her opinion, had bungled the defence of Canada and betrayed Canadians in the Treaty of Paris. "One cannot … express the sorrow and bitterness that has seized every heart." Canada, she continued, "would still be in our possession if Canadians, always victorious over the English, had been the only ones to defend her." When Louis XV approved the treaty, France had thrown away "an immense country whose value it never appreciated.… Our regrets ... will last as long as our lives."

Yet, within the new or expanded British colonies of Quebec and Nova Scotia (which then included the entire Maritime region), the people, language, religion, and culture of New France survived and endured. Former residents of Louisbourg lived out their lives as exiles, but Canadians remained in Canada and Acadians returned to the Maritimes (on their own, since the Treaty of Paris made no provision for returning Acadians to their homes).

Increasingly outnumbered by anglophones, they continued to defend their right to be themselves and, particularly in Quebec, never quite forgave the French for putting codfish and sugar ahead of the people they left behind in North America.

// Learn more at CanadasHistory.ca/NewFrance

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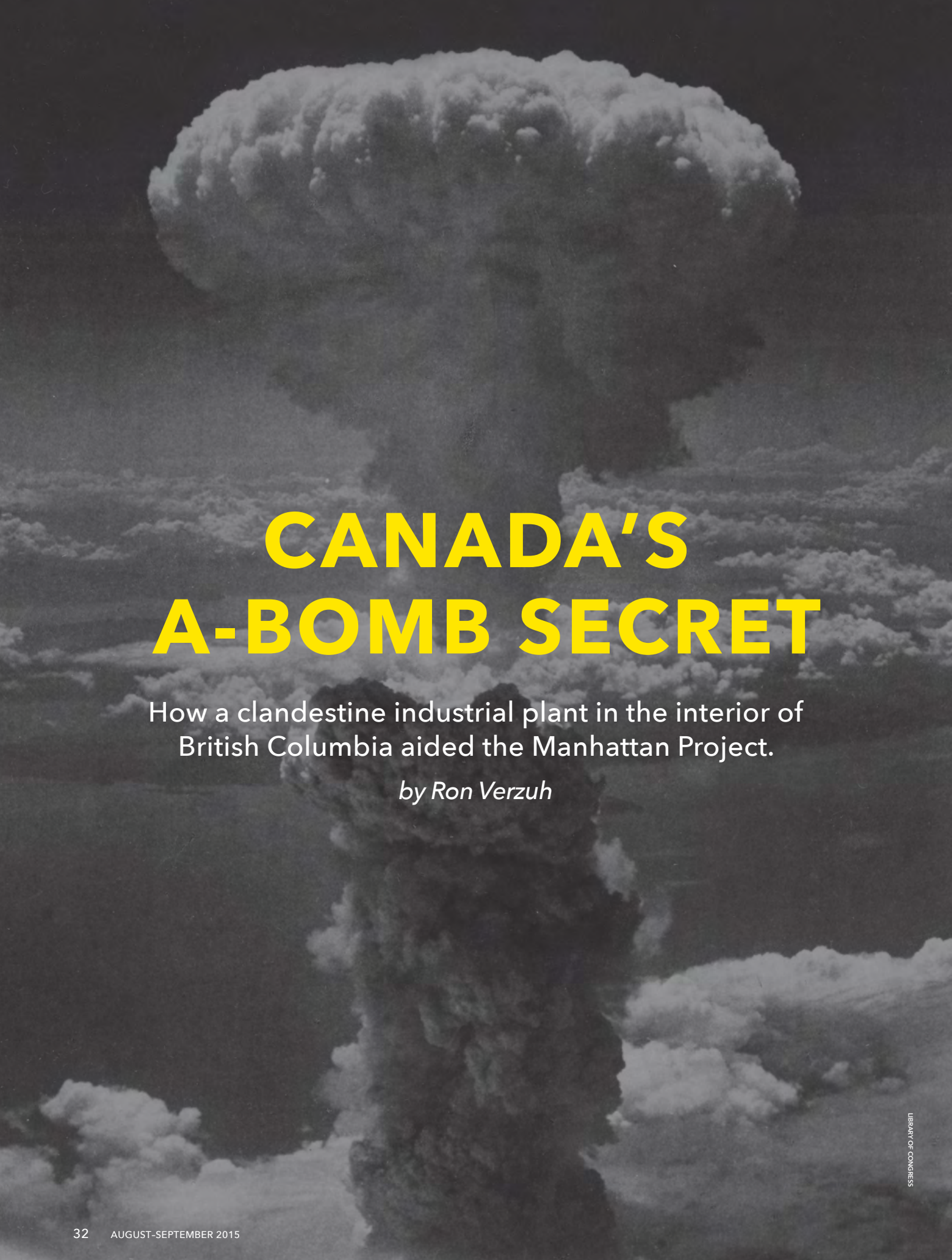


CANADA'S A-BOMB SECRET

How a clandestine industrial plant in the interior of British Columbia aided the Manhattan Project.

by Ron Verzuh

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Canada's role in supplying high-grade uranium to the Americans during the Second World War is well known. Uranium from a mine in Great Bear Lake, Northwest Territories, went straight into the making of the atomic bomb. What is less known is how Canada came to produce the heavy water that was also part of the A-bomb-making project.

This highly clandestine enterprise took place in a mountainous part of British Columbia's West Kootenay region. Named Project 9 (P9), it was led by one of Canada's great mining and smelting industrialists, Selwyn Gwillym Blaylock. But whether Blaylock knew the implications of what he was helping to build is open to debate.

Blaylock was president of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada (CM&S Co., renamed Cominco in 1966 and since 2008 known as Teck Resources Ltd.). For various reasons, including Blaylock's knack for ingenuity, his plant in Trail, B.C., was during the early years of the Second World War the only operation in North America that had the capacity to produce heavy water that could be used to moderate nuclear fission. It was for this reason that the U.S. Office of Scientific Research and Development approached him with a proposal to contribute to a top-secret project that would change the course of history.

Who was Blaylock, and how did he and his company come to be sought by the creators of the Manhattan Project?

Blay, as he was known to his friends, was born in Quebec in 1879. The son of a British-born Anglican minister, he attended McGill University, where he studied mining and metallurgical engineering. In 1899, he graduated and travelled west, arriving by sternwheeler at the bustling boom town of Trail Creek (later Trail) on the banks of the Columbia River to accept a post as a surveyor with Canadian Smelting Works (forerunner to CM&S). The twenty-year-old soon stood out as an exceptionally promising employee, and within two years he was the company's chief chemist.

His education no doubt helped. In 1898, during the last year of Blaylock's studies, a brilliant Cambridge researcher named Ernest Rutherford came to McGill to take up a post as the chair of the physics department. Rutherford, later known as the father of nuclear physics, apparently influenced Blaylock long after the latter graduated.

"Blaylock kept in touch with his mentor, Lord Rutherford," according to William C. Leith, a former employee. "Blaylock kept abreast of Rutherford's discoveries, including the nuclear nature of the atom in 1911 and the transmutation of elements in 1919, which pioneered nuclear research towards the atomic bomb."

Leith, who in 1942 worked with Ernie Mason, the designer Blaylock commissioned to work on the heavy water plant, later earned a doctorate at McGill and became a research associate professor in nuclear engineering at the University of Washington before returning to Trail to work with the company's engineering division. In a paper published in 2003, Leith wrote that Blaylock was "a brilliant chemist, a practical inventor, and an astute executive" who followed scientific discussions about nuclear fission. As early as 1932, after hearing about nuclear scientist Harold C. Urey's 1931 discovery of heavy water, Blaylock quickly pulled together a company research team that repeated Urey's experiment.

The company had an armoured tank outfitted with four machine guns and six rifles ready for action at any moment.

Blaylock also had a keen business sense. He merged failing mines and turned the giant Sullivan mine in Kimberley, about 250 kilometres east of Trail, into the biggest lead producer in the world. He also oversaw the development of a process that separated lead from zinc, and the company became a major supplier of war materials during both world wars. He steadily worked his way up from general manager in 1919, to director in 1922, to vice-president in 1927.

With his advancement came the trappings of success, which included a luxurious summer home built during the Great Depression just outside of Nelson, B.C. There, at a mansion known as Lakewood that still stands today, he hosted lavish weekend gatherings for company executives, celebrities, and leaders of industry.

His knack for innovation was legendary. In 1937, in response to an air-pollution cleanup order, Blaylock initiated a process to recover sulphur dioxide gases from the company's smelter and to convert them into highly profitable fertilizer products marketed under the Elephant brand. Significantly, this process included building an electrolytic hydrogen plant from which heavy water could be drawn.

The tower used to make heavy water at the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company in Trail, British Columbia, circa 1945.

By 1939, as the Second World War was breaking out, Blaylock was sixty years old and president of the company. That was also the year nuclear scientist Albert Einstein wrote the first of a series of letters to American President Franklin D. Roosevelt warning that the Nazis were developing a powerful new weapon. Although the United States was not yet in the war, it was a warning Roosevelt took seriously. In May of 1941 he established the U.S. Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD). Part of its task was to identify a plant in North America that could produce heavy water. On June 21, 1941, physicist Hugh Taylor wrote to Blaylock on behalf of the OSRD.

"We have come to the conclusion that the most rapid method of reaching a technical output of heavy water … at the present time is to make use of the opportunities at the Trail plant," wrote Taylor.

It was probably an added bonus to OSRD that the plant was already quite secure. Early in the war, Blaylock had gone to great lengths to protect the company's operations from sabotage. "No part of the boundaries of your plants is out of the vision of at least one guard, day or night," Blaylock wrote in the company's 1940 annual report. "Guards are all sworn in as special constables and have special uniforms, and must have a loaded rifle at all times." Blaylock also mentioned that the company had an armoured tank outfitted with four machine guns and six rifles ready "for action at any moment." He named the vehicle Seabiscuit, after the famous award-winning thoroughbred of that era.

According to P9 historian Craig Andrews, who wrote an article about the company's bomb role in the Fall 1971 issue of *BC Studies*, after several months of negotiations OSRD and CM&S reached an agreement in principal in January 1942. Seeking the approval of the company's board of directors, Blaylock wrote: "The British and Americans are very much concerned about a supply of heavy water. The uses that they wish to put this to are apparently closely guarded military secrets."

Was Blaylock — the "patriarch of Trail," as he was sometimes dubbed — privy to the "closely guarded" secret that heavy water from his plant would help to make the bomb at the top-secret Manhattan Project? And had he considered that what P9 was producing had the potential to make the little smelter city in the West Kootenay region an even bigger military target than it already was?

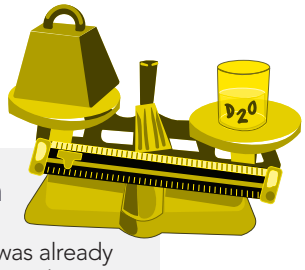
There is no documented evidence proving that Blaylock was aware of what P9 would contribute to the atomic bomb program. However, his company's scientists would have been aware of the

TRAIL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

5 CANADIAN HOTSPOTS FOR THE MANHATTAN PROJECT

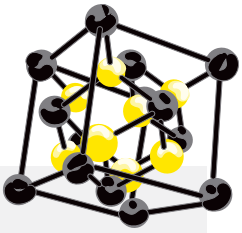
Great Bear Lake, Northwest Territories

A uranium mine on the shore of Great Bear Lake was reopened in 1941 to provide the United States government with uranium for nuclear research. Local Dene people were paid three dollars a day to haul the sacks of ore. Many later developed cancer.



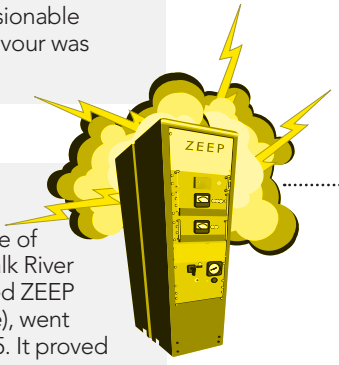
Trail, British Columbia

The Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada was already making nitrates for explosives to assist the war effort. In 1942, the company was enlisted to produce heavy water needed to produce weapons-grade fissionable material. The top-secret endeavour was known as Project 9.



Montreal

In 1942, the British moved their plutonium-production research team to Montreal to safeguard it from German bombing raids. The Montreal Laboratory included Canadian scientists who worked closely with the U.S. Manhattan Project. They focused on the best ways to produce plutonium for bombs.



Chalk River, Ontario

The first nuclear reactor outside of the U.S. was developed at Chalk River Laboratories. The reactor, called ZEEP (Zero Energy Experimental Pile), went operational in September 1945. It proved that natural uranium and heavy water could be used to create nuclear fission.

Port Hope, Ontario

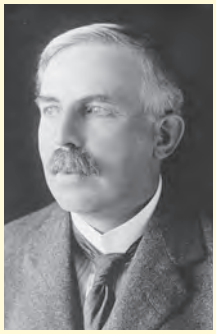
Uranium-bearing ore from the Great Bear Lake mine was shipped thousands of kilometres to Eldorado's milling and refining facility in Port Hope. The facility also refined uranium ore from the U.S. and other countries to meet the overwhelming demand for uranium. Cleanup of the area continues today.

MATTHEW YATHON

CANADIANS BEHIND THE BOMB

C.D. Howe, Canada's wartime minister of munitions and supply, negotiated a nuclear research agreement with Britain. In August 1942, Howe famously gave the go-ahead for the Montreal Laboratory with the simple words, "Okay, let's go."

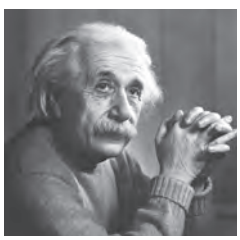
George C. Lawrence, a nuclear physicist, recruited Canadian scientists to work at the Montreal Laboratory and at Chalk River. In 1939, he came very close to being the first to generate a man-made chain reaction, known as an atomic pile.



Ernest Rutherford was dubbed the "father of the nuclear age" for groundbreaking work he carried out during his nine years of research at Montreal's McGill University. The New Zealand-born physicist won the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1908.

Selwyn Blaylock, president of Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada, in Trail, British Columbia, studied under Rutherford at McGill. Blaylock was part of a top-secret project to produce heavy water for the Manhattan Project.

Louis Alexander Slotin was a Canadian-born scientist with the Manhattan Project. On May 21, 1946, he became the second person on the project to receive a lethal dose of radiation during an experiment on a plutonium core. He died nine days later.



Einstein stressed that atomic research could "lead to the construction of ... powerful bombs."

breakthrough work of nuclear scientist Enrico Fermi that had originally revealed the feasibility of producing the bomb. The CM&S president knew that this development would produce unheard-of energy, and he must also have known that, as Einstein had stressed, it could "lead to the construction of ... extremely powerful bombs."

The company president also had a long history of munitions production covering two world wars, and he would have been aware of many wartime secrets through his contacts in Ottawa. The importance of Trail's smelter did not go unnoticed by C.D. Howe, the minister of munitions and supply, or by Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.

Meanwhile, Blaylock wasn't sure what he could say to his own government about the deal his company was negotiating with the U.S. By late July 1942, the Americans had agreed to pick up the cost of building the heavy water plant — a figure ranging from $1 million to $5 million — and Blaylock started to wonder if it was permissible for the Americans to build such a plant under Canadian law. In a letter to Howe to broach this question, Blaylock revealed only that the project on which the company was working was very confidential. "It all sounds like a fairy tale but I am sure there is something serious in it," Blaylock wrote. A few days later he heard back from Howe, who was at that time negotiating with the British government for an agreement to relocate its Cambridge-based nuclear laboratory to Montreal. "I am familiar with the whole project to which you refer," wrote Howe, adding that Blaylock need not "play secret agent any longer" and was free to negotiate with the Americans.

A final deal was reached in November 1942. The Trail plant started to produce heavy water in 1943 and continued to do so until 1956.

In the end, the heavy water produced at Trail was never used to produce the bombs that were dropped on Japan, or even the Trident test bomb that was detonated in the New Mexico desert in July 1945. The Americans found a cheaper alternative for the needed neutron moderator — hard graphite. The Hanford nuclear production facility at Richland, Washington, utilized hard graphite and produced enough plutonium for the two bombs dropped on Japan. As heavy water historian Per F. Dahl notes, the Trail product "had been reduced in importance at an early stage to America's 'second line of defence'" but was "prudently retained as a potential backup for graphite as a neutron moderator."

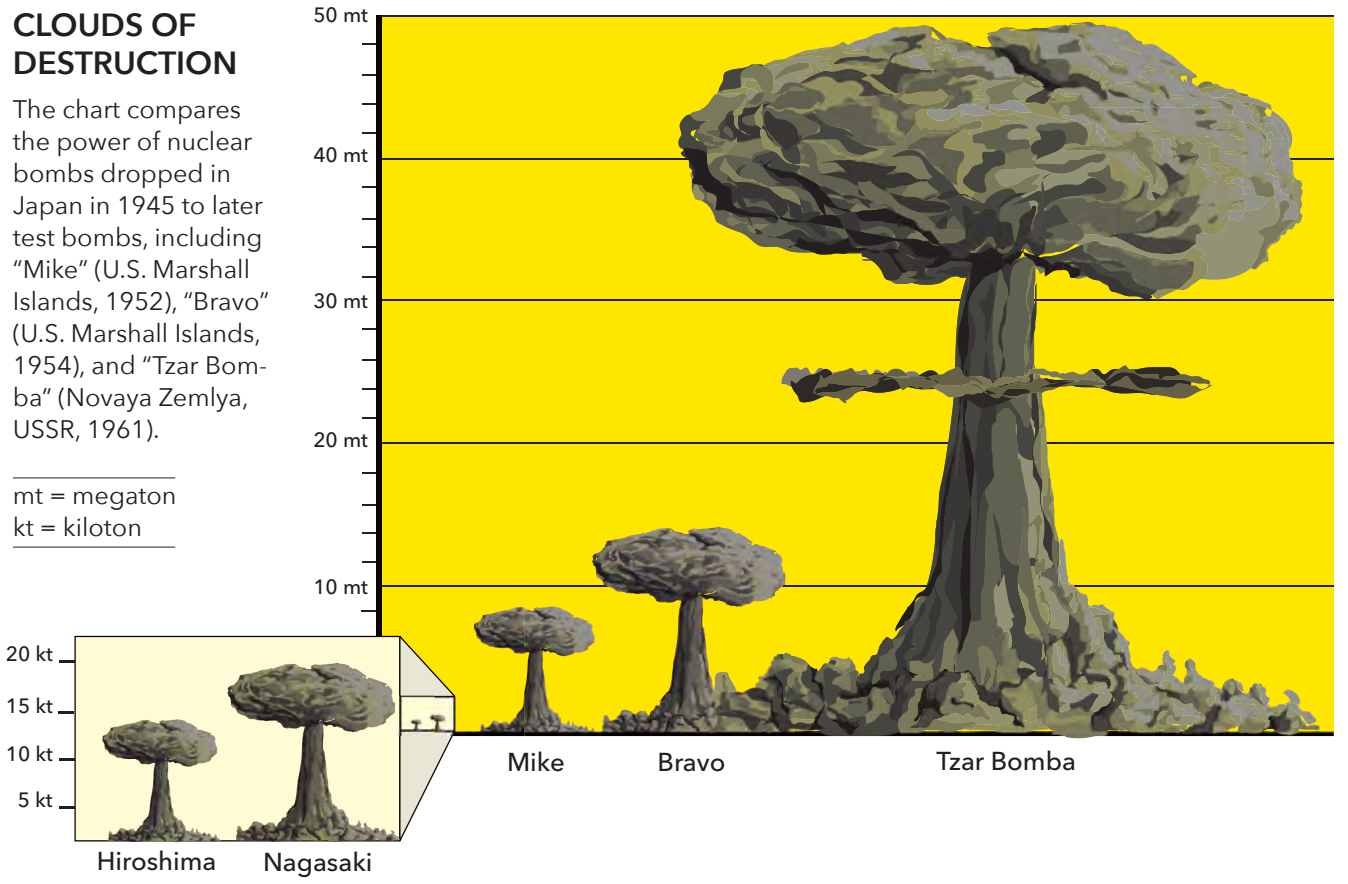
Would Blaylock have shied away from P9 had he known of its purpose? Historian Jeremy Mouat, whose book *The Business of*

EINSTEIN PHOTO FROM LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. BLAYLOCK PHOTO COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR. OTHER PHOTOS ARE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

CLOUDS OF DESTRUCTION

The chart compares the power of nuclear bombs dropped in Japan in 1945 to later test bombs, including "Mike" (U.S. Marshall Islands, 1952), "Bravo" (U.S. Marshall Islands, 1954), and "Tzar Bomba" (Novaya Zemlya, USSR, 1961).

mt = megaton
kt = kiloton



Power provides a history of CM&S hydroelectric power projects, argues that Blaylock had no qualms about assisting the Americans to make the bomb. However, the record, including material found in the company's protected archives in Victoria, remains silent on that question. If he did know, he kept the secret to the end. Blaylock died on November 19, 1945, about three months after Fat Man and Little Boy had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, blasting the world into the nuclear age.

Insiders quietly recognize the CM&S president for his role in the building of the bomb. Indeed, the front page of the Manhattan Project Heritage Preservation Association website features a photograph of the young McGill graduate about to start his long career with CM&S.

Today, the people of Trail have only dim memories of P9. Long forgotten is the *Trail Daily Times* front-page article on August 13, 1945, that began to unravel the story behind the mysterious P9 tower, with its headline, "Trail Helped in Atomic Bomb." Also forgotten by many is a 1951 *Maclean's* article, by a young journalist named Pierre Berton, that suggested mistakenly that the P9 plant was being run by communists led by union leader Harvey Murphy, self-described as "the reddest rose in Labour's garden." In fact, Murphy and the local union had no better idea than anyone else of what its members were producing or why.

The current owners of the smelter, Teck Resources Ltd., demolished the heavy water plant tower in 2008. A lone city councillor fought to preserve P9 as a historic reminder of Trail's role in the creation of the atomic bomb. But it was a losing battle. The company went ahead with the demolition and erected a plaque to commemorate the "Champions of Innovation" who worked in the tower. Clearly, the production of heavy water made Trail a small player in what historian Mouat has called "a watershed in the making of the contemporary world."

Dr. Nagai, an X-ray specialist at Nagasaki Hospital, walks amid the ruins after the bombing of his city. He died a few days later.

// Learn more at CanadasHistory.ca/A-bomb

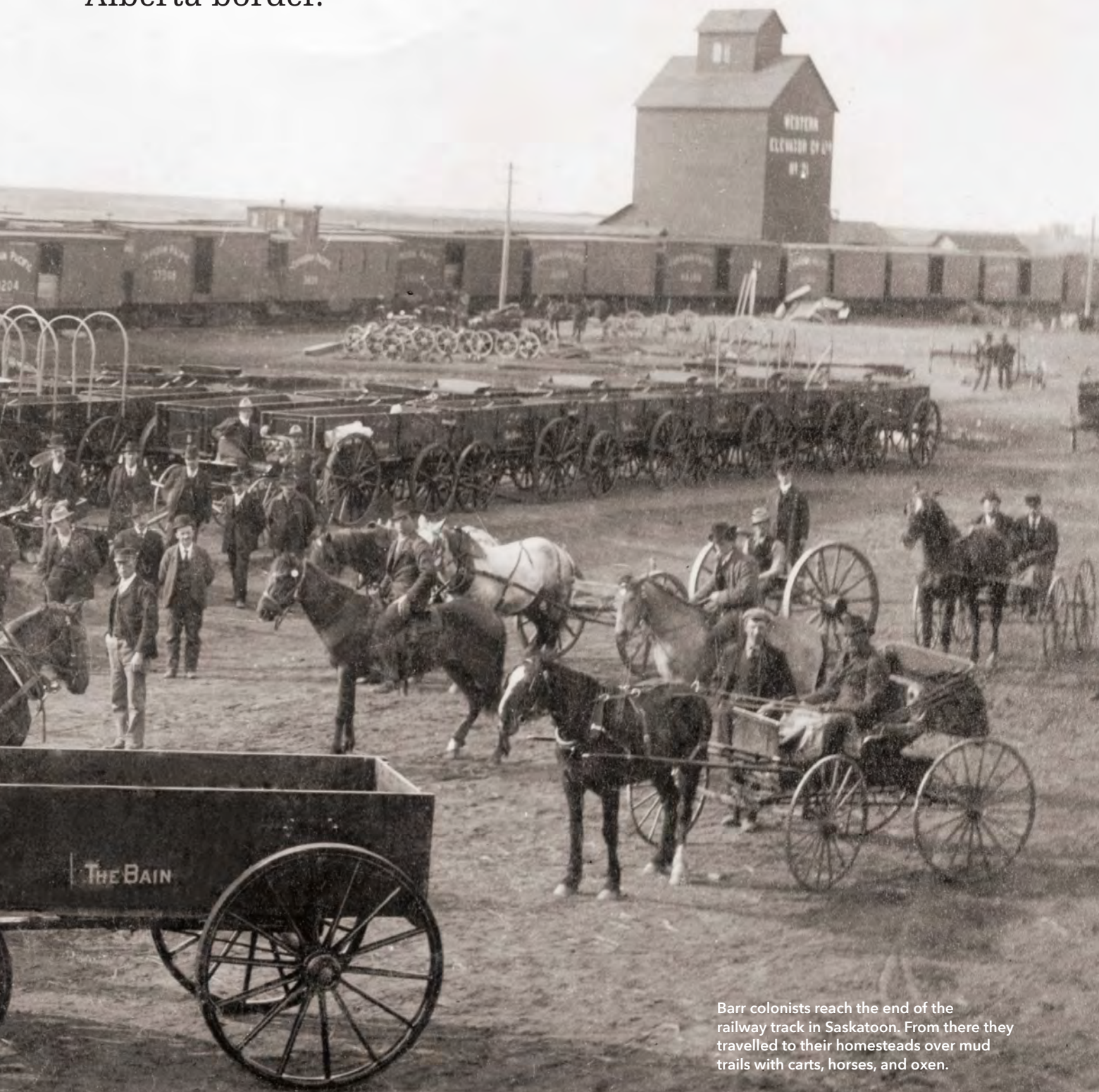
ABOVE: MATTHEW YATHON. RIGHT: BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

GRIT & GUMPTION

Free prairie land sounded like a good deal to Britain's urban class – until reality set in.

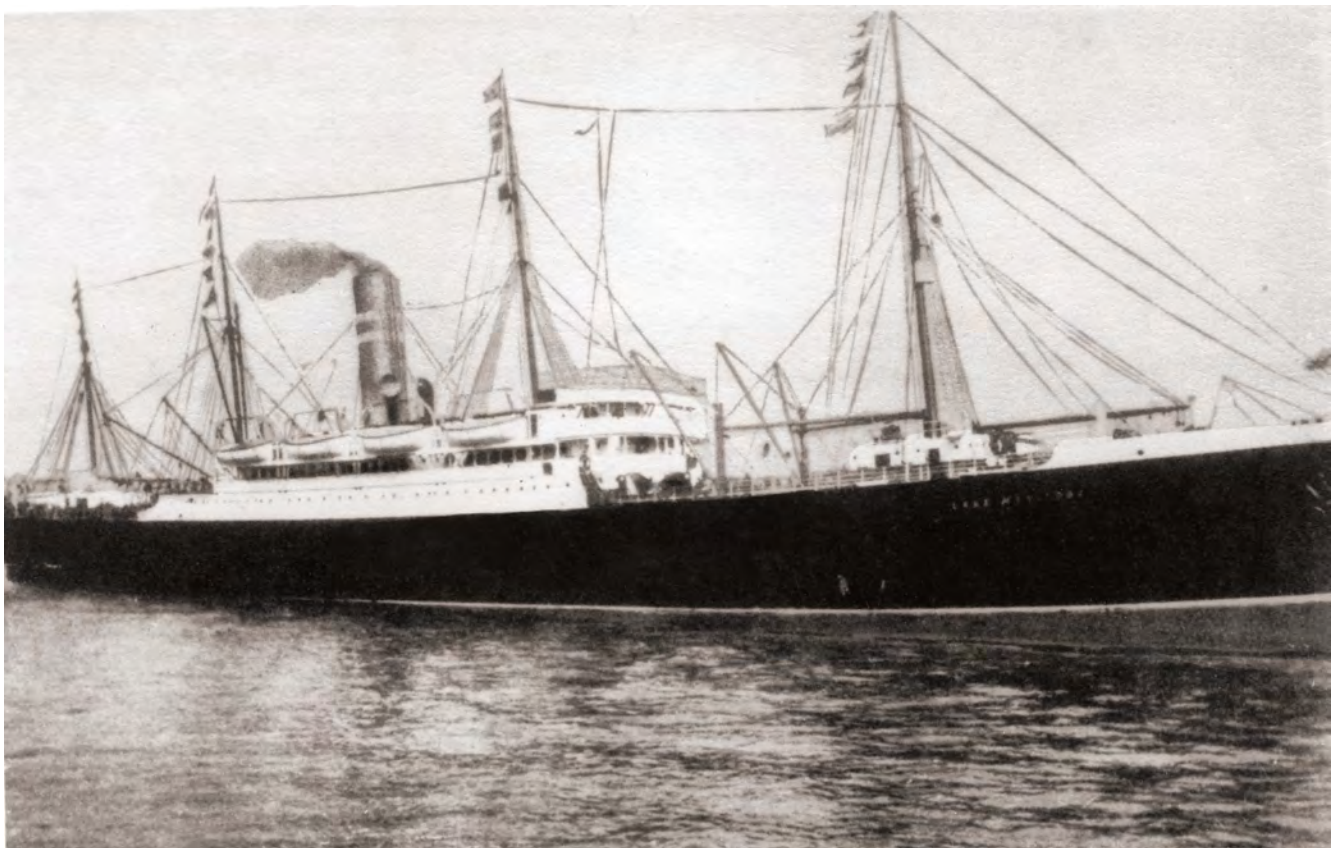
by Keith Foster

"Let us take possession of Canada. Let our cry be Canada for the British!" With these words, Rev. Isaac M. Barr sounded the call in 1903 to establish a colony of British settlers near what is now the town of Lloydminster on the Saskatchewan-Alberta border.



Barr colonists reach the end of the railway track in Saskatoon. From there they travelled to their homesteads over mud trails with carts, horses, and oxen.

SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD



The SS *Lake Manitoba* brought colonists from England to Canada.

The prospective colonists echoed the imperialist sentiment of Barr's plan. When asked by a newspaper reporter why he came to Canada, one of them replied: "Why, to claim Canada for the bloomin' Hempire."

Isaac Barr, the leader of this grandiose scheme, was born in 1847 in Halton County, Canada West (present-day Ontario). He received his education in Ontario, served several parishes there, and worked as a missionary on a First Nations reserve before moving to England at the turn of the century.

A restless dreamer, he was drawn to the ideas of British-South African politician Cecil Rhodes, who championed the expansion of the British Empire. Rhodes had strong opinions about the superiority of the British. "I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race," Rhodes wrote in his will in 1877.

British imperialist Cecil Rhodes.

Barr originally intended to lead only about five hundred British settlers to what was then called the North-West Territories, but the response to his pamphlets was so great that within a few months more than two thousand people had applied. This mass exodus came about not because respondents found it impossible to survive in Britain but because they thought they could do better in Canada.

The prospect of obtaining a 160-acre (65-hectare) homestead for a mere ten-dollar registration fee was very appealing. Most prospective colonists were from cities and towns, with typical urban occupations such as clerk or butcher. Also eager to emigrate were former Boer War soldiers looking for a new start. Some of the colonists, including about three hundred women, brought small children. But few of them brought what was needed most: farming skills and equipment.

Barr cautioned the prospective immigrants not to expect too much; they would not become rich overnight. He topped off his warning with a dare: "If you are afraid, stay at home — don't come to Canada. It is a land of brave and conquering men. But if you are honest and brave, and intend to work hard, if you purpose to lead the temperate and strenuous life, then come and cast in your lot with us, and we will stand together and win."

For someone who had been born in Canada and had lived briefly out west in the Prince Albert area, Barr, then in his mid-fifties, displayed a surprising naïveté about conditions on the prairies. He wrote, for instance, to one intending colonist: "I notice that you lived in Boston Mass. for a time and therefore know something of life in the far west."

Unaware of Barr's lack of knowledge, the colonists set sail from England on March 31, 1903. Originally built to accommodate 550 passengers, the SS *Lake Manitoba* sailed across the Atlantic with 1,962 colonists — along with their personal baggage and household effects — in its hold.

SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD

The executive group of the Barr colony en route to Canada. Rev. Isaac Barr is seated in the middle. Rev. George Lloyd is second from left.

The seasickness that affected so many of the passengers made their cramped quarters almost unbearable. P.S. Hordern recalled conditions in the bowels of the swaying ship: "We lay on our bunks in our crowded quarters and suffered; those who had recovered would lean out of their bunks to read in the dim light. They soon learned, however, to pull their heads back in a hurry when a seasick mate in an upper bunk shouted 'Duck!'"

Adding to the crowding and confusion, many of the colonists brought along their pets, including about 150 dogs. These roamed the ship apparently at will, barking, fighting, and depositing excrement over the decks and in the holds. One night the crew, tormented beyond endurance, tossed many of the troublesome pets overboard.

The passengers registered numerous complaints about both the quality and quantity of food served on board the ship. Nineteen-year-old Ivan Crossley, one of the few who was listed as a farmer (he had worked on a Florida peach farm) recalled: "We had a horrible concoction called 'ling fish.' It was yellow smoked cod and it smelled to high heaven. That and hardboiled eggs.... Some of those eggs were half-hatched. No bread, just ship's biscuits, big as a saucer and about half an inch thick. No butter; they did give us some margarine near the end. We didn't die but we damned near starved to death."

Crossley pointed out, however, that he was in steerage and that the first-class passengers may have fared better.

After two weeks at sea, the colonists arrived in Saint John, New Brunswick. There they encountered another problem. As the ship was unloaded, some of the colonists couldn't find their luggage, a severe blow to newcomers who had brought along irreplaceable family heirlooms. They blamed Barr for the loss. If the colonists expected the railway coaches that would take them west to be an improvement over the ship, they were sorely disappointed. Laura Sisley, a fifty-year-old saleswoman who used her own money to resettle a group of orphaned teenage boys from London, related, "These crude Canadian roadbeds. Jolting us constantly in our seats, shaking us so continually and so violently it is a wonder the flesh was left clinging to our bones. Many of the passengers suffered frightful bruises from being thrown about in their seats, especially when we came to curves in the track.

If the colonists expected the railway coaches that would take them west to be an improvement over the ship, they were sorely disappointed.

"We went around some of the curves so fast," Sisley continued, "that many of the women cried out in terror, fearing we would be thrown off the track and hurled down into some of the deep and dreadful canyons and gullies that bordered the track. If being seasick on board the *Lake Manitoba*, in the crowded and polluted atmosphere of the steerage had been bad, this was much worse."

SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD

Little did they know that the worst was yet to come.

When the colonists reached the end of track at Saskatoon, they ran into more problems. Sanitary arrangements were almost nil. And although the medical men with the colonists warned them to boil the river water before drinking it, at least one case of typhoid was discovered in the temporary camp.

In spite of these shortcomings, the immigration agent welcomed the colonists to a land that was "flowing with milk and honey." To bring it to perfection, he said, all they'd have to do was work hard.

The *Saskatoon Phenix* (later called the *Phoenix*) echoed the same sentiment: "There are abundant resources in our soil which, when developed, will give a far better living to the faithful toiler than he ever enjoyed in the old country. All that is needed is grace, grit, and gumption." These were qualities that most of the colonists seemed to possess.

After buying wagons and supplies at Saskatoon, the colonists set off overland to Battleford. More than one party, however, got stuck in swampy ground and had to unload at least three times the first day.

Fording streams proved particularly hazardous. The rushing waters overturned at least one wagon and pitched its riders into the stream they were attempting to cross. In other instances, drivers "left their seats in the quickest way imaginable," according to the *Phenix*, and one young lady "suddenly found herself thrown into the refreshing water of a running creek."

For transportation, the colonists had their choice of oxen or horses. Although stronger and thus better suited than horses to

Left: A Barr colonist home in 1904.

Below: In May 1903, the Barr colonists receive a taste of spring weather on the prairies during their long stopover in Saskatoon.

SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD

pulling wagons, oxen had some disadvantages, as more than one unwary colonist found out: "We found that our oxen, though good at pulling, were much slower at the walk than horses and not so easy to handle," C. Tweedale wrote. "At times they would become very obstinate. Taking it into their heads that they wanted a drink, regardless of the risk of getting bogged [down], they would bolt off the trail into some slough or swamp in spite of all we could do to prevent them. As we had only a piece of rope for reins, we might as well have tried to stop an express train."

All along, there was dissatisfaction with Barr and his lack of administrative skill. Eventually the colonists rejected Barr, placing their faith in his able assistant, Rev. George Exton Lloyd. The centre of the "promised land" they settled on would be known as Lloydminster in honour of Lloyd. Just like any other settlers, they had to break the land and erect shelters; but their circumstances may have seemed worse than others, because their expectations were too high. One of them recalled: "We still had visualized the land we could get as picturesque park land, with grassy, gently rolling slopes interspersed with clumps of trees, a sparkling stream and possibly a silvery lake thrown in, and the whole estate alive with game of all kinds."

Although many colonists had been reasonably well off in England, some faced near destitution on the prairies.

Another colonist, William Hutchinson, said: "Every settler seems to have an ideal quarter section in his imagination, and if the land is not exactly up to the ideal, it will not suit. It is surprising how much it takes to suit some people when they are getting something very cheap."

Although many colonists had been reasonably well off in England, some faced near destitution on the prairies, where they were unprepared for the extremely cold winters and other hardships. Some came close to starvation. Fifty-seven-year-old Henry Bowra started out with $1,000, but, due to illness, his finances were reduced to 65 cents by midwinter. He relied on the government to support him, his young wife, and their four children. But the food provided was inadequate.

In desperation, Bowra wrote to the local North-West Mounted Police inspector for help: "Since Xmas ... I have had the pleasure of seeing my children feasting sumptuously at the Canadian government expense on dry bread and oats one meal and for a change oats and dry bread at the next, the mother and I looking on and sipping hot water discoloured with a few leaves of tea. We were afraid to use too many at once for fear of being unable to discolour the water later on. It is hard, sir, on children who have always had enough of good plain wholesome food."

The first year was the worst for all of the colonists. Lieutenant-Governor A.E. Forget had warned that there would

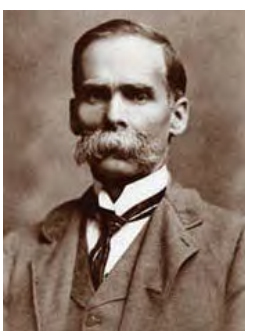
LAST BEST WEST

BRITS PREFERRED

Canada was eager to settle the prairies with immigrants from Britain in order to keep up an Anglo-Saxon culture. But finding enough immigrants from Britain – which was largely industrialized and urban – to do the back-breaking work of homesteading proved difficult. Intense promotional efforts in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland included travelling road shows, booths at country fairs, essay contests for schoolchildren, and ubiquitous posters depicting fields of wheat.

DOORS OPENED

Not enough immigrants were coming to Canada to break the land. To correct the problem, Clifford Sifton, the interior minister from 1896 to 1905, opened the door to anyone from any part of Europe with farming skills. He famously stated, "I think a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children is good quality."



NEW BARRIERS IMPOSED

By the time Frank Oliver became interior minister in 1905, large numbers of farmers from regions such as Austria-Hungary were flooding in. Their different ways unsettled some British Canadians, prompting Oliver to tighten up immigration rules for the non-British while making it easier for England's city dwellers to come over. In spite of this policy, by the 1920s in Saskatchewan, non-British immigrants outnumbered British immigrants two to one.

TOP AND MIDDLE: GLENBOW ARCHIVES. BOTTOM: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

The newspaper said it was a mistake "to turn these raw Englishmen loose on the Great Plains of the Canadian West."

be "discomforts to face and difficulties to overcome," but he was confident that "British pluck, British energy and British cheeriness will make light of them."

Some even found time to have fun. They formed literary and musical societies and put on frequent social events, such as dances. Local newspapers complimented their spririt. The *Saskatchewan Herald* at Battleford described the colonists as "all a splendid class of people" and "the material of which good settlers are made." And the *Saskatoon Phenix* believed that "two years will make excellent Canadians of them."

A dissenting view came from an American newspaper, the *Minneapolis Journal*. The paper said it was a mistake "to turn these raw Englishmen loose on the Great Plains of the Canadian West. The mosquitoes alone will be enough to rout them." The paper believed that news of the harsh experiences of the colonists would deter further immigration from England.

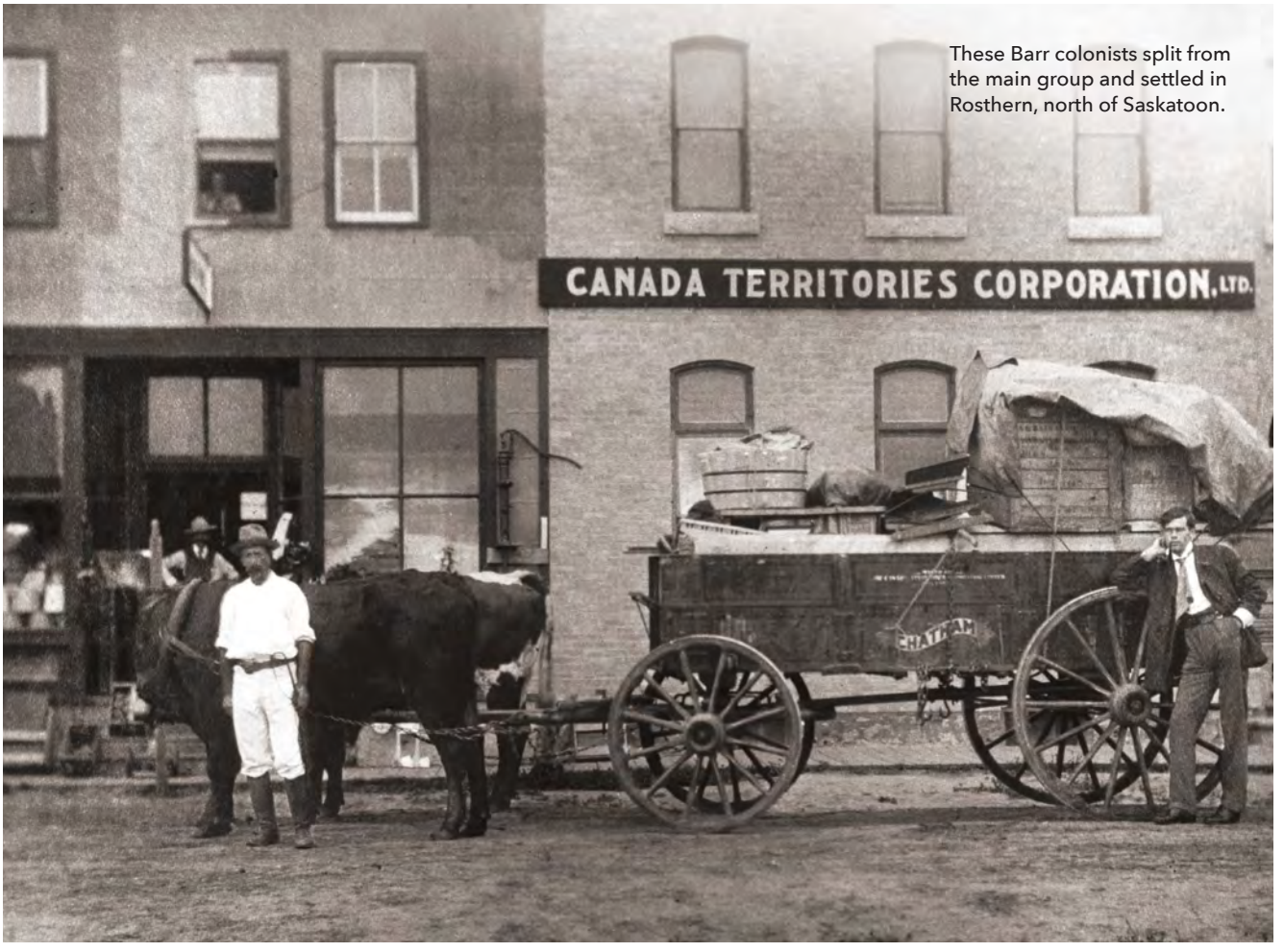
In fact, the opposite was true. One of the most significant things the Barr colonists did was to arouse interest in immigration. The extensive newspaper coverage given to the settlers made Europeans and Americans aware not only of the hardships but also of the potential of the North-West Territories. British immigrants continued to arrive in Canada in the years that followed, with many settling in the West.

Although some of the original Barr colonists returned to Britain, most stayed. Besides Lloydminster, their members also increased the populations of Battleford and Saskatoon. And they brought considerable capital into the country. According to the *Montreal Gazette*, they brought more than half a million pounds sterling with them and spent it freely.

In spite of their setbacks, the colonists survived, and in time most of them prospered. The very hardships seemed to steel them to greater effort. Throughout the turmoil, the colonists displayed remarkable perseverance, although for some this simply meant bungling through. Displaying true pioneer spirit, they left a legacy of "grace, grit, and gumption."

As for Barr, his unpopularity meant he didn't stay long in the colony. He returned to Ontario, settled for a time in the United States, and later immigrated to Australia as part of another group settlement scheme. He died there in 1937 at the age of eighty-nine.

// Learn more at CanadasHistory.ca/BarrColonists



These Barr colonists split from the main group and settled in Rosthern, north of Saskatoon.

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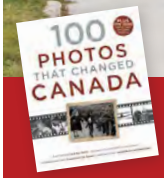

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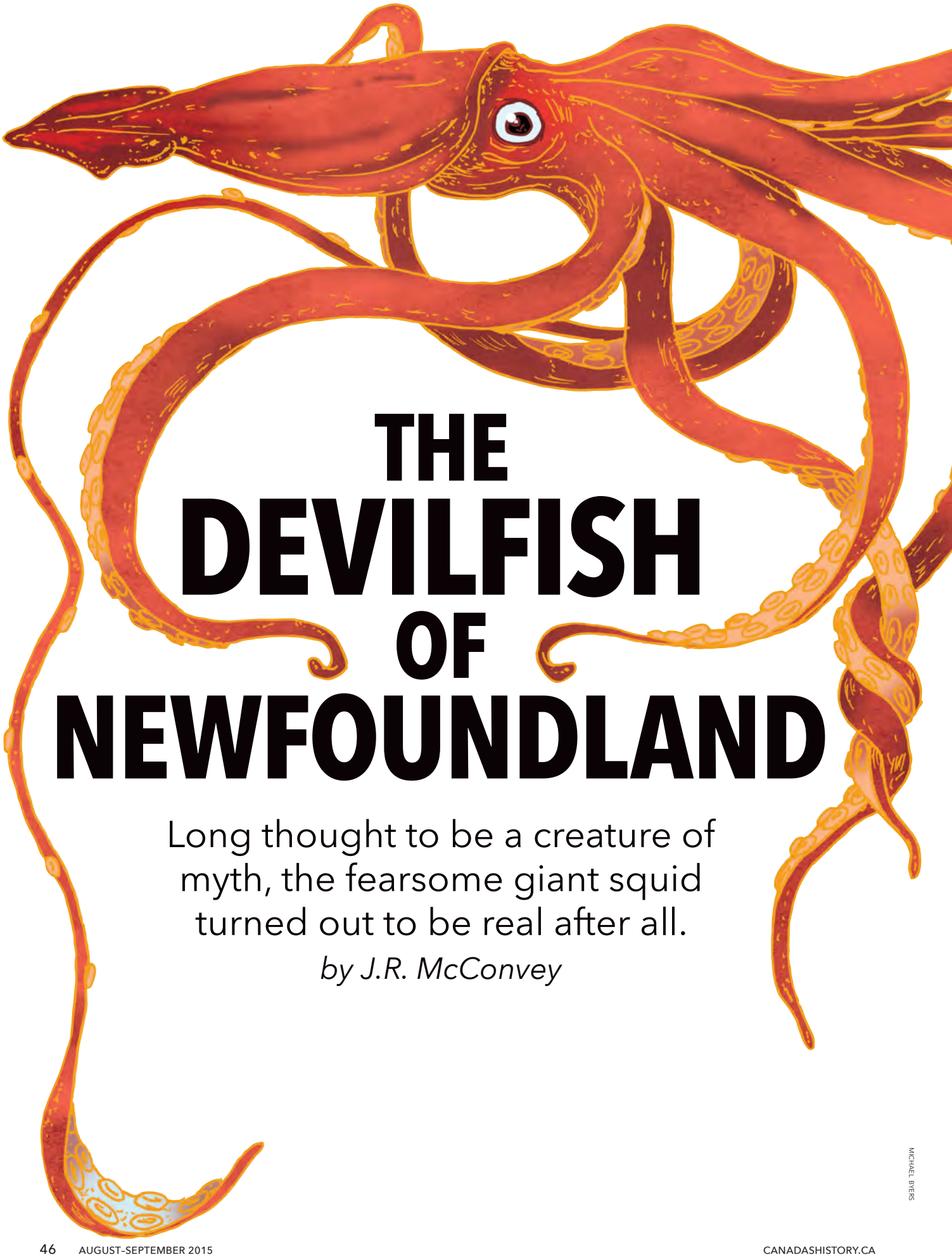


THE DEVILFISH OF NEWFOUNDLAND

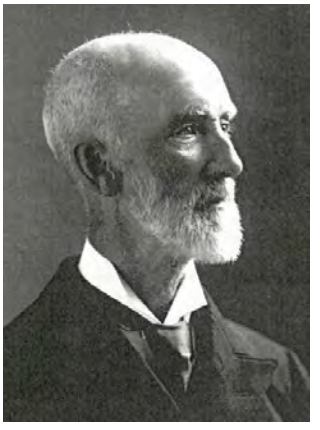
Long thought to be a creature of myth, the fearsome giant squid turned out to be real after all.

by J.R. McConvey

MICHAEL BYERS

One day in October of 1873, Rev. Moses Harvey opened his front door in St. John's, Newfoundland, to discover that monsters exist.

The Irish-born Presbyterian minister was a passionate naturalist known to local clergy as a man "crazy after all kinds of strange beasts and fishes." None, however, were quite as strange as what showed up at his house that day. How it got there and who brought it are matters of some debate, but there is no question about what came into Harvey's possession: It was a six-metre length of ropy tentacle, severed from a living giant squid. Dusky red and tough as leather, it was about the thickness of a man's wrist. As a man of science, Harvey knew the value of his prize. This was no ordinary specimen but a natural wonder of unparalleled rarity. Harvey later described it as "the veritable arm of the hitherto mythical devilfish."



Rev. Moses Harvey

Stories of gigantic sea monsters had been around for centuries, but they were difficult to verify. What had come into Harvey's possession was apparently the first conclusive evidence of the existence of *Architeuthis* — the giant squid.

This extraordinary story of Harvey's giant squid has found its way into Newfoundland lore. There are several versions of it, which differ depending on the source. Harvey himself told at least two.

On November 12, 1873, shortly after he obtained the tentacle, Harvey wrote a letter describing the incident to Dr. William Dawson of McGill University. It tells of two fishermen from the outport village of Portugal Cove rowing a small boat through Conception Bay off the coast of Bell Island. Seeing a dark blot floating on the water and thinking it to be debris, they went over and prodded it with a boat hook. The response was immediate: What they'd mistakenly assumed to be a harmless bit of flotsam rolled over to regard them with a gargantuan lidless eye. Within moments the boat was under siege by a thrashing of eight arms and two tentacles and a beak as hard as bone scraping at the hull of their craft. One appendage, long and thin and covered in knobby suckers, shot out and wrapped itself around the stern. Another followed, this one shorter but thicker, curling up to attach itself to the vessel and to begin pulling it under.

Frightened as they were, one of the men, Theophilus Picot, found it in himself to grab a hatchet from under the gunwale and began hacking at the monster. The blows sent the creature reeling backward, retreating through the water in a cloud of musky black ink. When the two men recovered their wits, they found two severed segments of their attacker's tentacles twitching in the bottom of their boat. Shaken by the encounter, the fishermen brought these grisly trophies to shore and, on the advice of the town clergyman, contacted Harvey. The reverend gave this account in an article he wrote and published in *Maritime Monthly* in March of 1874. Later, however, in a lengthy 1898 article in *Wide World Magazine* appearing under Harvey's byline, the story changed.

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND

Adventure with a Giant Squid, by N.C. Wyeth, 1940.

A pair of tentacles shot through the net, aimed in their direction. Fearing for their safety, one of the men unsheathed his knife and began sawing at the creature behind the eyes.

In this version, the squid part makes a further journey, when it is carted by young Tom Picot, son of Theophilus, all the way across the Avalon Peninsula to the doorstep of Harvey's residence in St. John's. Tom knocks on the door and, when the mystified reverend opens it, asks if he would like to buy "the horn of a big squid." Tom explains that he himself hacked the appendage from the fearsome creature — for now it's the youngster who is the hero of the tale. He's the plucky boy who, when his father and their friend Daniel Squires lose their nerve in the face of the "loathsome, slimy brute," keeps his wits about him and lops off the creature's tentacles with a tomahawk. He's the one who, thinking them useless, feeds one to the dogs before being told by locals that a certain Reverend Harvey might know what to do with them. He's the one who carts the great cephalopod from Portugal Cove to the city, coiled in a tub like a wreath of muscle, to place on Harvey's stoop.

It's been suggested that the boy was likely a product of Harvey's imagination, perhaps to make for a more thrilling story. Marine biologist Richard Ellis, author of *The Search for the Giant Squid*, points out that Harvey, a prolific writer, was prone to bits of flair. Moreover, *Wide World Magazine*, where the enhanced story first appeared, was known to feature stories that had been sensationalized to appeal to its audience of armchair adventurers.

But whether it was a young lad or an old salt who cleaved the arms of the devilfish — and whether or not the tale was embellished — there is no doubt about the existence of the giant squid part. Shortly after it came into his possession, Alexander Murray, an esteemed geologist and the first director of the Geological Survey of Newfoundland, helped Harvey to preserve and to document the item. Murray, who curated a small museum, also put it on display.

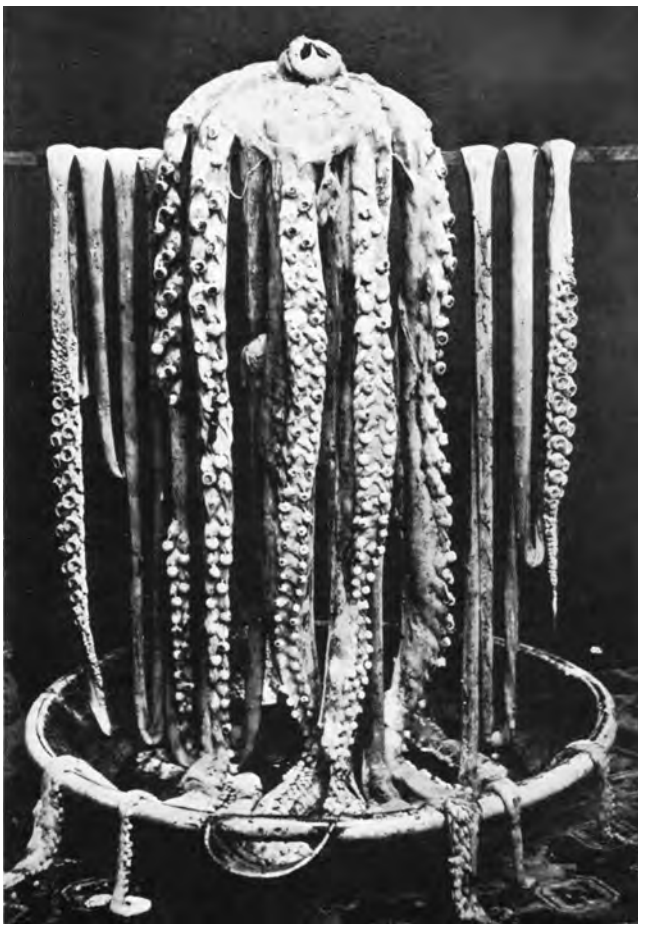
The mysterious *Architeuthis* had begun to emerge from the depths.

Three weeks after obtaining the first specimen, Harvey received news that sent him into "a fever of excitement." In Logy Bay, just up the coast from St. John's, there had been another sighting, another battle at sea, another trophy taken — another big squid! This time, though, it wasn't just a tentacle that had survived the fray.

Four fishermen from the area, hauling in a catch, noticed that their net had taken on an unusual weight. When it crested the surface, writhing like a nest of pocked eels, they saw that this was no mere haul of common herring. Just as Theophilus Picot had stared into the monstrous face of the squid at Portugal Cove, these men were now confronted with "a pair of large, cruel eyes glaring at them, and a confused mass of ghastly white arms wriggling in the meshes of the net," Harvey wrote in *Wide World Magazine*.

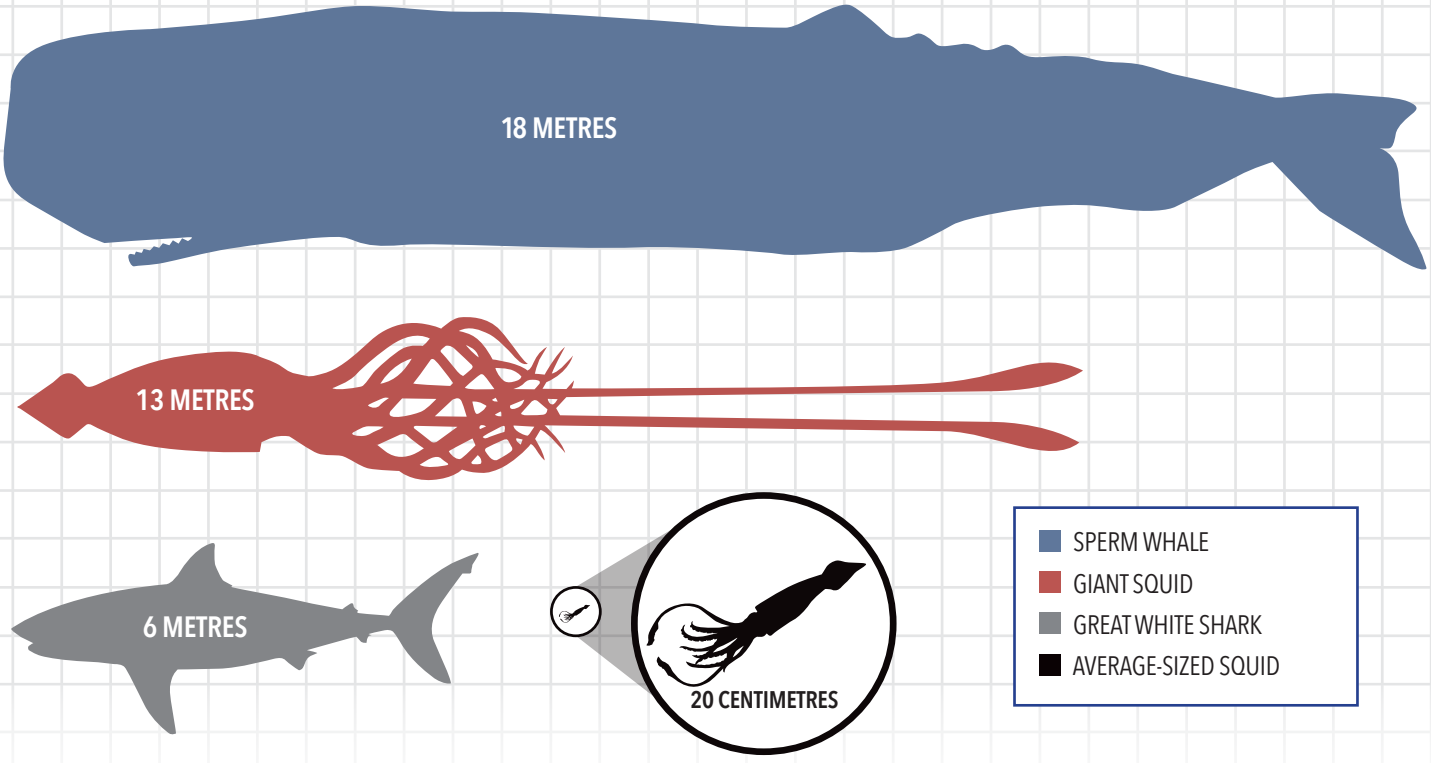
From this snared creature, dangling over the side of the boat, they received the same greeting as Picot and company: A pair of tentacles shot through the net, aimed in their direction. Fearing for their safety, one of the men unsheathed his knife and began sawing at the creature behind the eyes, carving away the large tubular head from the rest of the body. It was no easy struggle. Afterward, one of the fishermen reported that they'd "had such a bad half hour with it that money would not induce him to take part again in capturing such a horrible beast."

As soon as Harvey got word of this second specimen, he made for Logy Bay, arriving just in time to save the squid from being chopped up for fertilizer. To his elation, it was in near-perfect condition, a heaped mass of sucker-jewelled arms and tentacles tapering to a bony, parrot-like beak. The reverend had big plans for his catch.



The *Architeuthis* carcass obtained by Rev. Moses Harvey in 1873. This is the first known photo of a giant squid.

LEFT: BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY. RIGHT: PUBLIC DOMAIN



"I stood on the shores of Logy Bay," he wrote, "gazing on the dead giant and 'rolling as a sweet morsel under my tongue' the thought of how I would astonish the savants, and confound the naturalists, and startle the world at large. I resolved that only the interests of science should be considered." He offered the men ten dollars to have them deliver it to his door the next day, telling them it was a gift for Queen Victoria to ensure they'd take care with the cargo. When it arrived the following morning, Harvey gleefully stashed his "hideous, corpse-like creature" in a vat of brine, to preserve it while he made further arrangements.

While Harvey conducted a careful study of the squid, laying it out in his living room and recording his observations, the creature began to acquire a certain fame. Wrote the reverend: "As news of the arrival of such a rare visitor spread, a stream of daily visitors came to gaze in shuddering horror at the dead giant. I was obliged to limit the hours of admission, so numerous were the sightseers." Harvey himself, meanwhile, was increasingly obsessed, caught up in a near-ecstatic rush of equal parts ardour and disgust. "Had this not been a labour of love," he wrote, "the handling of the slimy, boneless, repulsive corpse, for hours at a time, might have overcome my sensibilities." But he persevered, measuring his grotesque muse at an astonishing fifteen metres. However, because squid stretch like rubber bands, the actual size might have been smaller. The largest size of giant squid confirmed by scientists today is thirteen metres — or a little longer than a city bus.

To photograph the specimen, Harvey hung it from an iron crossbar in his sponge bath, the arms carefully draped to show off their suckered surfaces, the beak placed on top like a crown of bone. The overall effect was something like a scarecrow clothed in flesh. He enlisted a photographer, believing that photographic evidence was necessary to convince the world of what he had found and to prevent his being labelled "a Munchausen" (Baron Munchausen being a fictional character who told fantastic but impossible stories about himself). The portrait resulting from this macabre sitting has the aspect of an idol, typically Victorian in the theatre of its composition. The reverend himself was quite fond of it: "The picture," he wrote, "presented the appearance of a beautifully executed embroidery."

Alas, the beauty of Harvey's *Architeuthis* was fleeting. Try as he might to keep it preserved in "the strongest brine," the corpse began to wither and rot. We can imagine from the reverend's writings that he might have liked to keep the thing around for a while, revelling in hallucinatory fantasies of what it would be like to encounter *Architeuthis* alive. "When we fancy the whole ten arms [actually eight arms and two tentacles] twining themselves round some victim — wrapping it around in their clammy folds with inconceivable rapidity, and then perhaps twelve hundred suckers at once, sinking into the flesh and seeming to drink the very blood, we see what a formidable grasp is that of the cuttlefish and how terrible its embrace must be."

Ultimately, Harvey and Alexander Murray — presumably together — decided that the best way to serve science would be to write to scientists at noted institutions to alert them of their findings and to see who among the respondents was best qualified to take custody of the squid. After the segment of tentacle was recovered at Portugal Cove, Murray had written to professor Louis Agassiz at Harvard, who had replied eagerly, asking to examine it. Unfortunately, Agassiz died before it could be shipped.

When it came time to hand over the Logy Bay specimen, the chosen candidate was Agassiz's former pupil, Addison Emery Verrill of Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Verrill followed up by writing no fewer than twenty-nine scientific papers about giant squid, with most of them mentioning the Newfoundland specimens.

ILLUSTRATION BY JAMES GILLESPIE

This sculpture at Glover's Harbour, Newfoundland and Labrador, represents a giant squid that washed ashore there in 1878.

ROBERT HISCOCK/FLICKR

The creature's existence was now scientifically confirmed, and its fame spread worldwide. The Logy Bay specimen was eventually passed to the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, drifting out of Harvey's orbit — though not out of his life.

In honour of Harvey's efforts to study the giant squid and to advance science, Verrill christened the species *Architeuthis harveyi*. (The accepted taxonomical name is now *Architeuthis dux*.) Circus owner P.T. Barnum, hoping to add to his collection of weird wonders, wrote to the reverend, placing an order for two devilfish. Harvey presumably just shook his head: "He probably thought they were as plentiful as codfish," he wrote, adding:"In devilfish I could have done a roaring trade, if only the supply had been equal to the demand."

While not common, quite a few were sighted in Harvey's time. For reasons that might have been connected to climatic or oceanographic changes, dozens of giant squid were reportedly washed ashore or seen floating on the surface in Newfoundland waters from 1871 to 1881. Few made it as far as direct scientific observation. According to Verrill, some fifty or sixty were collected by fishing vessels on the Grand Banks and used as bait for cod.

Harvey's fascination with the animal continued, although it would be a mistake to write him off as merely a squid fanatic. He was a key commentator on all aspects of Newfoundland life in the late 1800s, and his body of work is invaluable to anyone who wants a window onto the colony at the time. He wrote many books on Newfoundland history and saw immense potential in the area's natural resources. He was also an early advocate for common sense in the fisheries. On being inducted into the Royal Society of Canada in 1891, he called for an advanced marine research station to be built in Newfoundland. Harvey was a polymath and a classic Victorian naturalist who displayed an endless curiosity about the world around him.

Yet there is little doubt about which topic enthralled him most. In 1899, he wrote, "Looking back now, at the distance of a quarter century, I cannot but smile at the enthusiasm with which I studied the anatomy of my 'sea vampire.'"

The giant squid haunted Moses Harvey's dreams until the end of his days. Not two years after publishing those words, on September 3, 1901, he was found dead in the back garden of his home, which overlooked the ocean, with the newly built Cabot Tower crowning Signal Hill in the distance. The exact details of his death are unknown. An article from 1968 states that an apoplectic seizure caused Harvey, eighty-one, to fall from the steps to his veranda after a nocturnal walk. Other sources say that Harvey, suffering from ill health and loneliness, committed suicide.

Harvey remains well-known in the province. In 1961, the respected teuthologist F. A. Aldrich took up his mantle as resident giant squid expert, putting in thirty years of rigorous research at Memorial University in St. John's — which in turn rewarded him, in 1990, with the title Moses Harvey Professor of Marine Biology. It is fitting that The Rooms, the magnificent hilltop archive in St. John's, is one of the few places on earth where you can see a preserved giant squid specimen.

The giant squid remains elusive, but that may be changing. In 2012 a crew of scientists working off the coast of Japan was able to capture the first-ever video footage of the creature alive in its natural habitat. And, in early 2014, several dead specimens were spotted floating the same area. With the oceans changing rapidly, so may be the habits of its creatures. If we begin to see more of these monsters on the surface, we can be sure that Moses Harvey will be remembered more often — a man of ardent passions who, for a time, fell head over heels for a tangle of pickled tentacles and who introduced the world to the embrace of the giant squid.

// See more at CanadasHistory.ca/GiantSquid

The War on Truth

Canada's First World War press censor wielded tremendous power in stemming the flow of upsetting news from the front.

By Jeffrey A. Keshen

Ernest J. Chambers was Canada's chief press censor during the Great War. He is shown here in his later role as Parliament's Usher of the Black Rod.

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Canadians from every part of the country celebrated when Canada went to war in August 1914. Indeed, reports said the crowds in Montreal were as great as in Toronto, and "La Marseillaise" was sung as robustly as "God Save the Queen." At the time, the rush of volunteers overwhelmed recruiters, no one thought of conscription, and most believed it would all be over by Christmas.

The home fires were blazing, and Canada's government was determined to keep them burning brightly. Only days into the conflict, federal Justice Minister Charles Doherty was asked to draw up legislation to provide the government with the power to prosecute the war without restraints. The result was the War Measures Act. Passed by Parliament on August 22, it was made retroactive to the beginning of the war nearly three weeks earlier, thus establishing the possibility of *ex post facto* guilt. Its core was Section 6 authorizing "such acts and things … necessary for the security, defence, peace, order, and welfare of Canada." Among these was censorship. Those breaking the law could receive a five-thousand-dollar fine — ten times the average annual salary — or five years in jail, or both.

ONLY MORNING NEWSPAPER IN MANITOBA.

Manitoba Free Press.

WEATHER FORECAST: FINE and WARM. Temperature. Yesterday 7 p.m.— Maximum, 54. Minimum, 42.

VOL. 41. WINNIPEG, MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1915. SIXTEEN PAGES. NO. 253.

CANADIAN TROOPS PLAY GLORIOUS PART FOR EMPIRE

CASUALTIES OF CANADIANS MAY BE EIGHT HUNDRED

Saturday's Official List Contains Names of Twenty-one Officers Killed and Sixty-six Wounded.

British Estimate of Ten Privates to Every Officer Would Make Total a Large One.

Canadian Casualty Lists

During the next few days a heavy casualty list will reach Canada. Relatives of men killed and wounded will be apprised several hours before the official list is handed out. In view of public interest in the matter, the Free Press would regard it as a favor if persons who receive notifications of casualties would telephone the information to the Free Press as early as possible, or call at the editorial department, fourth floor.

Information regarding Winnipeggers who appear in published casualty lists would also be welcomed. Telephone Main 6340, and ask for city editor.

Canadians Fighting Back to Back Did Valiant Work With Bayonets

SHED LIFE-BLOOD IN GRAND RUSH

Winnipeg and West Paid Heavy Toll In Strenuous Fighting in Flanders

LONDON ACCLAIMS CANADIANS' BRAVERY

Aflame With Official Record of Gallantry That Saved the Situation.

Winnipeg Casualties

KILLED:
Captain John Geddes, 79th Cameron Highlanders.
Private Allan G. Ingalls, 10th Regiment.
Bugler Charles F. Hussey (died of wounds), 90th Regiment.

WOUNDED:
Major James Lightfoot, 450 Kennedy street, 106th Light Infantry.
Captain G. H. Ross, 79th Cameron

Ten Western Officers, Including Two Lieutenant-Colonels, Killed and Twenty-three Have Been Reported Wounded—Three Prominent Winnipeg Men Gave Up Their Lives—79th Cameron Highlanders Particularly Hard Hit—Captain John Geddes was Popular Citizen—Lieut.-Colonel Boyle, Commanding Officer Tenth Battalion, and Major Joseph E. McLaren, of Brandon, Among the Dead Heroes—Sixteenth Battalion Suffers Severely.

The casualty lists as received to date indicate that at least three Winnipeg regiments achieved undying glory in the fighting at the close of last week. These regiments are:
THE 90th WINNIPEG RIFLES.

This newspaper's main headline puts a positive spin on the news of high numbers of casualties sustained at Ypres.

Canadians, especially in English-speaking parts of the country, entered the conflict not only with enthusiasm but also with intolerance towards those considered suspect in their loyalties. Some German Canadians joined about two thousand German reservists in internment camps, in most cases because they had uttered something deemed sympathetic to the enemy. However, because most German Canadians had roots stretching back in Canada for generations, they were British subjects and not classified as enemy aliens. Such was not the case with Galicians, meaning Ukrainians who came from an area that was made part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire before the war. Nearly six thousand were interned, many simply for being unemployed, while over eighty thousand were obliged to report monthly on their whereabouts to law enforcement services.

People in Canada rarely received grisly reports, a situation unaltered by the arrival of newspaper correspondents.

In this atmosphere, newspapers became cheerleaders as much as sources of information. War news was heavily filtered. Initially, Britain appointed an official eyewitness to provide reports from the front. Canada's press was eager for its own representation, especially after the country's troops saw action for the first time, in March 1915 at Neuve-Chapelle, France. Such representation had been granted to Australia to cover the Anzacs in the Middle East. With Britain agreeing to the same for Canada, but with Canada's press unable to settle on a representative, the federal government turned to the London-based expatriate Canadian millionaire William Maxwell Aitken — Lord Beaverbrook — to serve as Canada's official eyewitness. His reports were far more propaganda than news.

At the Second Battle of Ypres, in April 1915, many of Canada's six thousand casualties — one third of its fighting force — literally coughed up their lungs from the effects of chlorine gas and desperately sought to fire defective Ross rifles that constantly jammed. Long casualty lists revealed the costs of battle, but Aitken's message was that these were heroic and saintly sacrifices. The word "glorious" appeared often in Aitkens' dispatches: "The story of the Second Battle of Ypres is the story of how the Canadian division, enormously outnumbered … fought through the day and through the night, and then through another day and night; fought under their officers until, as happened to so many, these perished gloriously…."

People in Canada rarely received grisly reports, a situation unaltered by the arrival of newspaper correspondents. Indeed, to obtain access to battle zones, some publishers wrote authorities that patriotism, not the desire for sensationalism and newspaper sales, would guide their reporters.

Censorship in Canada started in a narrow, technical manner, focusing on telegraph messages to try to ensure that militarily sensitive news was not leaked. It was soon determined that more was necessary, as some newspapers, desiring to scoop their competitors, leaked information such as details about the departure of troopships. On June 10, 1915, an order-in-council established a chief press censor's office. Appointed to the position was Lieutenant-Colonel Ernest J. Chambers, a former newspaper reporter and militia intelligence officer.

Some journalists expressed concern over a formalized censorship service, but most accepted it as appropriate in wartime. Several even welcomed censorship as a way of levelling the playing field. They hoped the censor would stop some publishers from printing ill-advised stories that more patriotic competitors wouldn't publish. The latter suffered financially for complying with government requests to bury sensitive copy.

NEWSPAPERARCHIVE.COM

Wounded soldiers smile for the camera. Official photos like these assured people at home that their loved ones' spirits were unbroken.

As a former reporter, Chambers made overtures to the press. He wrote one former colleague that as "an old newspaperman" he would not be rigid or act like "an administrator of a Prussian system." He presented himself as an advisor who could help editors to decide matters on which they were uncertain. Yet he took a harsh line against those he thought had acted defiantly. For instance, the *Sault Ste. Marie Express* became a banned publication for declaring, in a 1916 editorial, "No More Canadian Soldiers for the Front."

Chambers drew a clear line against criticizing Canadian trainees and military life. In British Columbia, papers were prevented from reporting upon a riot involving drunken soldiers at the Vernon training facility, during which a military police officer was killed. He demanded that papers remove unpleasant tales about front-line life, including in soldier correspondence they printed. In one case, Chambers gave his blessing to a soldier's comment that "the trenches were not so bad" but not to the observation of another that "the man who said war was hell did not know anything about it, for it [was] far worse."

Of the 253 printed publications banned in Canada, 222 came from the United States, and 164 were in a language other than English or French. Among those banned were major newspapers, most notably the eleven dailies owned by William Randolph Hearst that were strongly anti-British. Chambers insisted that newspapers printed in enemy languages be held to a higher standard to remove any hint of disloyalty. He was suspicious of papers like the *Berliner Journal*, which had been in business in southwestern Ontario since 1859. Even without translator reports, he started proceedings to ban it based upon complaints received from A.C. Laut, the publisher of the *London Advertiser*, who was a long-time critic of the *Journal*. Probably because he was of German background, local MP William G. Weichel came to the *Journal*'s defence, informing Chambers that its publisher-editor served as county sheriff and was widely considered to be of impeccable character.

Chambers was uncompromising in his approach to those who promoted the political left. Following the November 1918 armistice, which ended the war but not the power of the War Measures Act (which remained in effect until January 1920), Chalmers banned eighty-nine socialist publications. He targeted Russian, Ukrainian, and Finnish newspapers based upon the strength of socialism in the original homelands of their readers. Illustrative was the case of *Vapaus*, the organ of the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada. To increase his chances of discovering unacceptable material in its pages, Chambers assigned a translator recommended to him by the editor of a rival right-wing Finnish newspaper, the Canadan *Uuitiset*.

Although most Canadians learned about the war through newspapers, censorship encompassed other means of communication. The chief censor instructed telegraph operators to inspect thou-

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sands of messages sent or received by those deemed suspect. The vast majority under close surveillance were of non-British background. In British Columbia, these included Hindus and Sikhs suspected of helping anti-colonial factions in India and Asians presumed sympathetic to Germany because of overtures made by Berlin to Chinese republican rebels.

With telephones, Chambers relied on operators, or others, to stumble across peculiarities. When they were reported, he responded swiftly. Most cases turned out to be false alarms. For example, in May 1917, the secretary of the Grand Trunk Railway told Chambers of an employee who, when calling his wife in Ottawa from Montreal, inadvertently tapped into another discussion. "It seemed to be between a clerk and his employer," he wrote, "the latter instructing that someone meet the 9:20 train tomorrow as there would be some confidential mail on it. He then said to find out when the steamship *Baymaster* would sail, and whether direct to France."

Chambers contacted the chief commissioner of the Dominion Police along with military intelligence and harbour authorities. However, it was discovered that the dialogue was between a superior officer with the Imperial Munitions Board and a manager for Montreal-based British Munitions Limited.

When it came to pictures, Chambers adopted a more strict standard than the British, based upon the belief that Canadians, being isolated from the war, would more easily be shocked and revolted by viewing gruesome realities. Thus, he accepted photos bearing subtitles like "the unfailing cheerfulness of the British Tommy" but rejected images carried in British newspapers that aimed to rouse hatred against Germany by showing "bodies of men and horses amid wreckage of a French city."

Chambers applied the same unstinting standards to movies. Among the films he quashed was *Peace at any Price*. Made during America's neutrality years, Chambers said it "served German interests" by showing "the gruesome side of war through depictions of ghastly heaps of dead ... graveyard scenes, etc." He rationalized his approach by pointing out that Germany had given financial support to firms such as the American Correspondent Film Company. Turning to provincial movie censors, Canadian film distributors, and theatre owners, he "noted with satisfaction" their co-operation in guaranteeing that "nothing … be shown which might be calculated to produce an injurious effect on the minds of the public."

Certainly, there were things censorship could not hide. Canada suffered nearly a quarter million casualties in the First World War, or just over three per cent of its population. By the end of 1915, the first wave of the wounded was returning home and describing what they had been through. A *Toronto Star* report of February 14, 1916, carried an account by Major Ewan A. MacDougall that cautioned

The Happy Man Today is the Man at the Front
Royal Highlanders of Canada
Allied with the
BLACK WATCH
Have Enlisted at their Armoury for Overseas Service
13th Bn. C.E.F. Now in France
42nd Bn. C.E.F. Now in England
AND THE
73rd Bn. C.E.F.
is now Mobilizing
JOIN THE 73rd NOW
Apply at the Armoury of
ROYAL HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA
429 Bleury Street
MONTREAL

Left: A recruiting poster with a cheerful message.

Below: A newspaper issued to Canadian troops overseas by the Canadian War Records office emphasizes that soldiers can remain jovial and upbeat despite the hardships of the trenches.

SIR ROBERT BORDEN'S NATIONAL SERVICE CAMPAIGN

CANADIAN DAILY RECORD

ISSUED BY CANADIAN WAR RECORDS OFFICE TO UNITS OF THE CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

No. 1. TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1917. GRATIS.

HOW CANADIANS STAND THE STRAIN OF WAR AT THE FRONT.

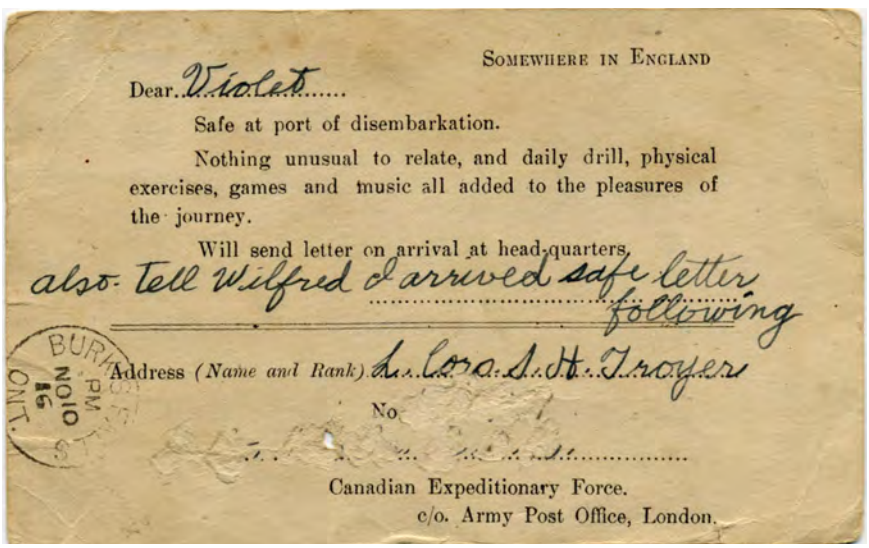
A Trio of Happy Canadian Soldiers—torn and warworn and bespattered with the mud of the trenches, but brisk and jovial as ever. (Canadian Official Photograph.)

RIGHT: CWM 19900348-020/CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM FAR RIGHT: D 501 C32 1917-1919/CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM

Above: A soldier writes home during a break behind the lines.

Above right: Letters home were censored for sensitive military information as well as for grisly content that could damage morale on the home front.

Right: For those who didn't have the time or the inclination to write, the military provided form letters. In this one, Sutherland Henderson Troyer writes to his future wife, Violet MacMillan, circa November 1916.



SOMEWHERE IN ENGLAND

Dear Violet

Safe at port of disembarkation.

Nothing unusual to relate, and daily drill, physical exercises, games and music all added to the pleasures of the journey.

Will send letter on arrival at head-quarters.

also Tell Wilfred I arrived safe letter following

Address (Name and Rank) Lieut. S. H. Troyer

No

Canadian Expeditionary Force.
c/o. Army Post Office, London.

BURK... PM NOV 16 ONT.

readers against believing what they heard, even if it appeared in the carefully censored newspapers: "Major MacDougall warns friends at home not to accept statements from returned soldiers as to hardships in the field literally. Many accounts, he says, that he has seen in Canadian papers are gross exaggerations."

Despite military censors and the desire of most men not to shock or upset loved ones, some servicemen conveyed grisly details in their letters home. Canadians confronted casualty lists in newspapers that, after a major battle, went on for pages. The decline in volunteers and the move to conscription showed that many realized it was not all glory overseas.

In the years following the conflict, shock and horror came to compete in public consciousness with the celebration of Canadian heroism and pride in battlefield accomplishments.

The position of chief press censor was dissolved at the end of 1919. Yet Chambers continued his battle, acting as an informal advisor to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on "dangerous" left-wing publications. He ended his days in service to Parliament as the editor of the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* and as the Usher of the Black Rod. He died in 1925 at age sixty-three.

Chambers had considerable success in stemming the flow of upsetting news during the war. He was helped tremendously by a patriotic press and had no qualms about using the iron heel when a diplomatic approach did not work. His ability to operate with little restraint against foreign-language and socialist texts spoke to a far more limited view of civil liberties a century ago.

In the end, Canada's contributions to victory over Germany were achieved not only by sacrifices overseas but also by crushing dissent at home.

// See more photos at CanadasHistory.ca/Censorship

ABOVE LEFT: CWM 19920085-344 GEORGE METCALF ARCHIVAL COLLECTION/CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM. ABOVE RIGHT: CWM 20020058-003 GEORGE METCALF ARCHIVAL COLLECTION/CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM. BELOW: COURTESY OF JUDY MODRAY

Left: Cougar Annie stands outside her cabin with her rifle in 1962.

Above: Tools go to rust at Cougar Annie's former homestead.

Cougar Annie's garden

A remote homestead on Vancouver Island is a testament to a pioneer woman's skill and determination. *by Sean McIntyre*

Among stories of Vancouver Island's Hesquiat people, the osprey represents strength, resolve, and perseverance. The bird hovers with a keen eye, on watch for approaching danger. It's a fitting symbol for life on the rugged, wave-crashed shore of Clayoquot Sound on the island's west coast, where survival is a hard struggle.

In April 1915, an osprey soaring above Boat Basin — about fifty-two kilometres northwest of the now popular tourist destination of Tofino — would have spotted a kindred spirit when Ada Annie Rae-Arthur, along with her husband, Willie Rae-Arthur, and their three children, stepped into a new world from the deck of Canadian Pacific's SS *Princess Maquinna*.

With the last winter storms washing ashore, soaking through a lush, undisturbed canopy of ancient Sitka spruce, hemlock, and fir trees, their future must have seemed daunting. Like many newcomers to Vancouver Island in the early twentieth century, they were attracted by the prospect of free land.

But it was also very challenging land.

Father Augustin Brabant (1845–1912), a Roman Catholic missionary stationed at Hesquiat village, across the bay from the Rae-Arthur homestead, assessed the area years earlier: "The coast is rugged and rocky, presenting in its entire extent the appearance of desolation and barrenness," he wrote. "No clear land is to be seen anywhere, and no hopes can be entertained that the west coast of Vancouver Island will ever be available for agricultural settlements."

Cougar Annie was not unfamiliar with difficulty. Her charming husband Willie was a handful. The epitomy of the remittance man, Willie was banished to the edge of the earth to escape an opium addiction. His family in Glasgow sent them a small monthly stipend, in return for an assurance he would remain out of sight and spare his respectable kin any fallout from his unpredictable behaviour.

The couple had five more children at Boat Basin, where they carved out a modest homestead, a two-hectare garden, and a mail-order nursery business. Willie disliked manual labour, but he could watch the kids and wash dishes while Annie took care of business. When Willie drowned in 1936, many expected Annie to ship out on the next steamer. But she was already home; all she wanted was a new man to help out along the way.

Unable to find a match in the wilderness, Annie advertised in farming magazines and newspapers. "BC widow with nursery and orchard wishes partner. Object matrimony," read one such request. She married three more times. Her second husband died after accidentally shooting himself in the leg. Number three contracted pneumonia.

TOP LEFT: PHOTO BY JOHN MANNING, C-04904, COURTESY OF ROYAL BC MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES. TOP RIGHT: SEAN MCINTYRE

The cabin where Cougar Annie lived most of her life is slowly returning to the earth.

SEAN MCINTYRE

She chased away her fourth husband at gunpoint when he tried to push her off a cliff.

The children, raised under a regimen of chores and discipline, headed for town as soon as they got the chance, but Annie stayed. She served as postmistress, tended a garden nursery with more than a hundred varieties of flowers, shrubs, and trees, and grew legendary for her eagle-eyed shooting. During her tenure, she is said to have shot no fewer than eighty bears and sixty-two cougars. The latter earned her the moniker Cougar Annie.

Cougar Annie died in 1985 at age ninety-seven. Today, it is still possible to visit what is left of her homestead. Boat Basin is a two-hour water taxi ride from Tofino. But be warned that it isn't an average destination.

The property is now owned by the Boat Basin Foundation, established by Cougar Annie's friend, Peter Buckland. The foundation promotes exploration of the land's ecological and historical significance through the Temperate Rainforest Field Study Centre.

The centre has six off-grid cabins that were built with cedar harvested onsite. In the centre is a longhouse-inspired communal kitchen and dining building that overlooks the forest, garden, and ocean below. Accommodation at the centre is open to visitors, but the foundation's website cautions that they should be highly motivated, reasonably physically fit, and independent. Visitors can arrange day trips from Tofino through the foundation.

Each spring the foundation enlists the help of volunteer crews armed with spare mowers, clippers, and spades in a bid to keep the merciless rainforest at bay. The remains of Cougar Annie's home and outbuildings are slowly returning to the earth.

Buckland came to Boat Basin in the late 1960s as a young prospector hoping to capitalize on the area's abandoned mineral claims. By then, Cougar Annie had established quite a reputation as an eccentric West Coast pioneer woman.

Buckland couldn't have anticipated how a stop at Cougar Annie's homestead to buy some eggs would set his life on a new trajectory. The pair began to chat, and the relationship lasted until her death. Buckland likes to joke that, had he been a few years older and she a few years younger, Cougar Annie may have enlisted him as spouse number five.

Buckland, who lived in Vancouver, returned regularly to visit for the next twenty years, helping where and when he could. He grew enchanted by the garden, the lifestyle, and the legacy. To the amazement of friends and co-workers, in 1987 he traded life as a stockbroker to move to the site and restore Cougar Annie's legacy.

The homestead turns one hundred this year. To get there, follow the Trans-Canada Highway until it comes to a stop at 1st Water Street in Tofino. Water taxis with names like *White Star*, *Rocky Pass*, and *Cougar Island* ferry residents and goods between town and First Nations villages throughout Clayoquot Sound. In good weather, the charter trip to Boat Basin takes two hours. A float plane will get you there in 25 minutes. In stormy weather or thick fog, nobody goes anywhere.

However you arrive, expect to roll up your pants and get your feet wet. Once you've stepped through the surf onto the pebbled beach, time slows to a more natural rhythm. The ospreys fly overhead, and the garden still blooms — just as Cougar Annie had always wanted.

For more information about Cougar Annie's garden, visit: www.boatbasin.org and www.voicesfromthesound.com.

Sean McIntyre is a journalist based on Salt Spring Island, British Columbia.

CANADA'S HISTORY

HONOURING OUR HISTORY

ANNUAL REPORT 2014

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

This will be my final message as Chair of the exciting organization known as Canada's History Society. It has been an enormous pleasure to work with such talented and energetic board members and staff and to share in their excitement as we find new ways to make a rich history become real and visceral for more and more Canadians.

We have benefitted, in addition, from increasing government and private investment in our activities, which reflects the recognition that these multi-faceted contacts with all levels of our greater community resonate with those who share them. Not only does the History Society lead, conceptualize, illustrate, and coordinate the many elements of Canada's history, but it also delivers!

We are not resting on our laurels and have engaged in developing a thorough strategic plan for the next five years, consciously adding Education to our corporate mission. We have had a smooth and successful leadership transition, with Janet Walker stepping into the role of President and CEO, building on the excellent work of Deborah Morrison, and the addition of new and superb board members, including university-based historians, to ensure that we maintain a focus on the full range of Canada's history.

As I write this message, we are looking forward to continued enhancement of the relationship with the Governor General and the upcoming Governor General's History Awards, which have become Canada's gold standard for the recognition of dedicated teachers and Young Citizens.

— Richard W. Pound

HUDSON'S BAY

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY HISTORY FOUNDATION

The Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation is the History Society's founding patron. It remains our largest private donor, with an annual grant essential to supporting the delivery of our programs. In 2014 the foundation contributed $230,000.

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CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The Society's work includes *Canada's History* magazine, CanadasHistory.ca, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, and the Governor General's History Awards.

From left: *Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Descending the Fraser, 1828*, by Adam Sherriff Scott; Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Richardson examines HBC documents held at Manitoba Archives, May 1975; David Pickwoad, Chair of the Hudson's Bay History Foundation, speaks at HBC 20/40 celebrations in Winnipeg, September 2014.

HERITAGE TREASURES A CAUSE FOR CELEBRATION

In 1920, to toast its 250th birthday, the Hudson's Bay Company founded a new magazine for its staff, titled *The Beaver: A Journal of Progress*. That magazine continues to be published today under the name *Canada's History*.

HBC also decided it was time to open its archives to outsiders. Declaring that the company had "a duty to make our information available to the people of Canada," HBC's head office in London began the painstaking process of arranging and describing its records for public access.

To mark the fortieth anniversary of the arrival of the records at the Manitoba Archives, and the twentieth anniversary HBC's gifting of its collection of artifacts to Manitoba Museum, Canada's History produced a commemorative video recognizing these heritage treasures and the gifts of the HBC. The video premiered at a celebration held September 30, 2014, at the Manitoba Archives in Winnipeg.

A NEW CHAPTER

David Ross

Sasha Mullally

Edward Kennedy

Janet Walker

Melony Ward

Deborah Morrison

It was a year marked by celebrations and organizational transition. In 2014, Canada's History Society honoured its twentieth birthday while commemorating significant historic milestones that have come to define us all as Canadians. We also delivered an unprecedented number of awards to other people and organizations who share the stories of Canada's history.

These achievements were made possible by the talent, leadership, creativity, and dedication of all who work for or volunteer with the History Society.

We greatly appreciate the Board of Canada's History and its Chair, Richard Pound, who helped to realize a successful transition of leadership following Deborah Morrison's twelve-year career at the helm of Canada's History. Morrison's tenure concluded in the spring of 2014.

Her legacy and high standards charted an ambitious course for Canada's History Society.

Over the summer of 2014, team effort plus interim direction provided by Publisher Melony Ward inspired impressive results. We welcomed Janet Walker to the role of President and CEO in September, just in time for the Governor General's History Awards, our annual celebration held in Ottawa.

Long-time Director David Ross was appointed to chair the board at our annual meeting in May 2015. Business leader Edward Kennedy, of Winnipeg, and academic historian Sasha Mullally, of the University of New Brunswick, have been appointed for three-year terms as directors.

CANADA'S HISTORY LAUNCHES THE GREAT WAR ALBUM

Canada's Great War Album was born out of a desire to honour the sacrifices of the Canadians who served both at the front and on the home front during the First World War. Begun in 2012, and published by HarperCollinsCanada in the fall of 2014, the book contains never-before-seen photographs and stories contributed by our readers — many of whom are descended from Great War veterans — as well as essays written by top historians on all aspects of the war.

We launched the book in late October with events in both Ottawa and Winnipeg, during which Editor-in-Chief Mark Collin Reid shared stories and photos of the men, women, and children of the Great War generation.

The book features chapters on key battles and life in the trenches but goes beyond no man's land to explore the impacts the war had on women, children, interned citizens, Aboriginals, and others. The book was a national bestseller and continues to sell well in bookstores as well as on our website, at CanadasHistory.ca/Books.

For those wishing to share their families' First World War stories, Canada's History has created a new website, GreatWarAlbum.ca, where users can upload photos and texts. Users can also explore the other collections on the site, which we hope will be a great resource for students, teachers, and all who are interested in learning about the experiences of the Great War.

CANADA'S HISTORY
FORMERLY THE BEAVER
SEPARATISTS ... ON VANCOUVER ISLAND?
STRIKING GOLD IN THE KLONDIKE
OUR GREATEST EXPLORER
WAS IT SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN? WE RANK THE TOP 5 TRAILBLAZERS
CANADA'S FIRST SEX SCANDAL: THE MUNSINGER AFFAIR
FUR TRADE EMPIRE
HOW HBC BEAT THE ODDS TO BECOME NORTH AMERICA'S OLDEST COMPANY
LUNDY'S LANE WAR OF 1812'S BLOODIEST BATTLE
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16 MORE FIRST-HAND STORIES
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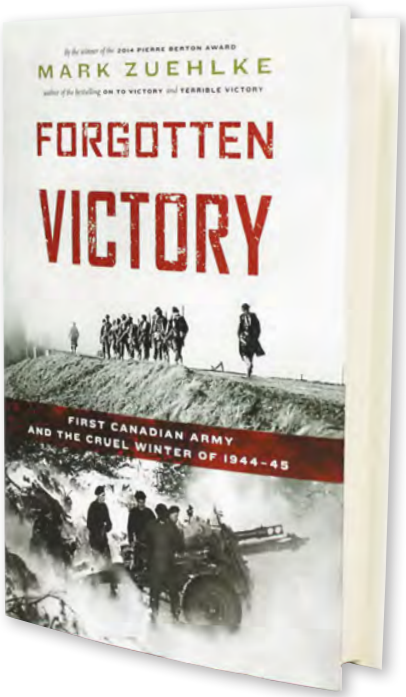
• ROCKET RICHARD SPARKS A RIOT
• AND MUCH MORE
SPECIAL COMMEMORATIVE WORLD WARS ISSUE
THE WORLD WARS
HOW THEY CHANGED EVERYTHING
J.L. GRANATSTEIN: HOW THE WARS TRANSFORMED CANADA
JONATHAN VANCE: WHY WE MUST REMEMBER
ART OF WAR: THE TRAGIC TALE OF AN UNFINISHED MASTERPIECE

NEWSSTAND SALES SOAR FOR CANADA'S HISTORY

Canada's History magazine had a banner year on the newstand in 2014, with overall sales rising by twenty-one per cent compared to the previous year. Three out of six 2014 covers broke all-time sales records for their respective time slots. And, despite the challenges facing all print media in today's digital age, magazine subscriptions remained stable.

Canada's History explored a wide variety of topics, from the world wars,to Aboriginal issues, to women's history, and beyond. Our efforts were rewarded recently when the magazine was named 2014 Manitoba Magazine of the Year. In addition, *Canada's History* was also a finalist for National Magazine of the Year at the Canadian Society of Magazine Editors Awards.



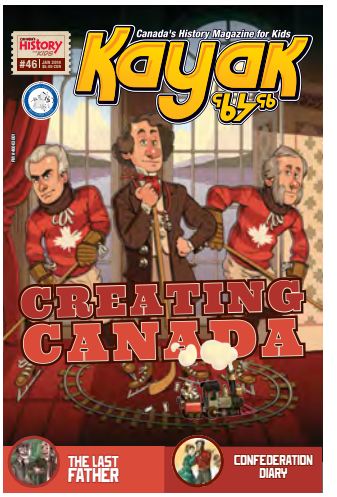
TELL IT LIKE BERTON ... OR MAYBE A LITTLE BETTER

Canada's History was proud to welcome historian and author Mark Zuehlke as the 2014 recipient of the Governor General's History Award for Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award. This marked the twentieth anniversary of the award, and Zuehlke joined an illustrious group of historians that includes Charlotte Gray, Tim Cook, Jacques Lacoursière, Jack Granatstein, James H. Gray, and, of course, Pierre Berton.

Zuehlke gave the keynote at the annual National History Forum, held at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, and used the event as an opportunity to look at the key elements of narrative storytelling that are so important in his work.

Zuehlke took a moment to acknowledge Pierre Berton's many exceptional publications, from *Klondike* to *Marching as to War*.

"In all these books," explained Zuehlke, "Berton brought to our story his masterful skill at writing narrative that enabled us as readers to feel we were back in that particular time and standing alongside those figures who were living in the historical moment."



SHARING STORIES WITH YOUNG CANADIANS

"Give kids a chance to be passionate about Canadian history, and they will."

– Nancy Payne, Editor, *Kayak*

Canada's History Society excels at sharing exceptional stories and celebrating the people and organizations who tell them.

In *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids* we featured a range of historical themes in 2014, including castles and forts, the history of food in Canada, and the Great War. We delivered to subscribers and teachers a *Kayak* tenth-anniversary issue and featured selected magazine articles, comics, and fiction stories online.

Web content includes online exclusives — maps, photo galleries, the history of holidays, and calls for visitors to send in photos, pictures, and poems.

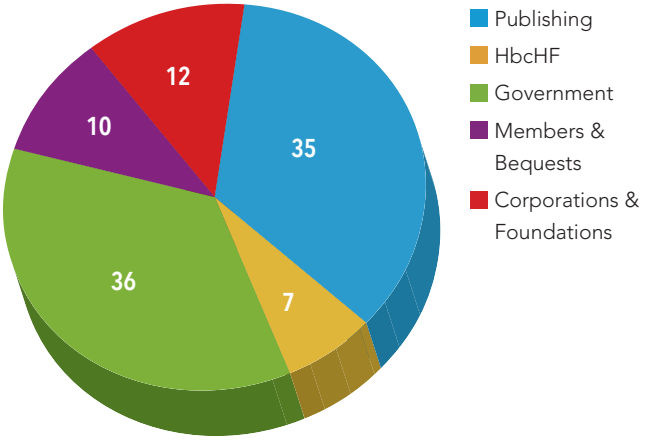
Youth initiatives and education programs have grown significantly over the past year. We welcomed a group of eight individuals recognized for exemplary teaching through the presentation of Governor General's History Awards by His Excellency, the Right Honourable David Johnston.

Annual events in Ottawa in November 2014 included the participation of Canada's Young Citizens — award-winning young video producers — and a new National Youth Forum that brought together twenty-two students and twelve chaperones from across Canada in the first significant national gathering for Heritage Fairs since 2009.

A new program introduced in 2014 has created opportunities for high school students to explore topics in Canadian history. Minister of Heritage Shelly Glover presented new Government of Canada History Awards to one hundred students and twenty teaching projects in 2014.

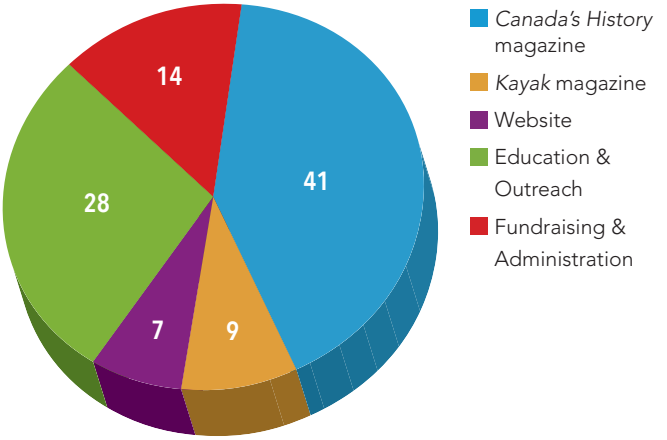
HISTORY SOCIETY REVENUE SOURCES

Through their subscriptions and donations, readers provide 42.3% of our annual operating revenues, for which we are extremely grateful.



HOW YOUR DOLLARS ARE SPENT

New funding for history awards from the Government of Canada is supporting students and teaching projects.



2014 HONOUR ROLL

Each year, Canada's History Society makes an appeal for donations to support its current programs. This year's fundraising efforts realized a total of $2,036,602 in contributions from our members, corporations, foundations, and governments. Canada's History extends a special thanks to all of our donors for their generosity. Gifts of $100 or more have been recognized in this honour roll.

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BEER CANADA

The case of James Keegstra is one of dozens explored by Richard Pound in his book *Made in Court: Supreme Court Decisions That Shaped Canada*. Keegstra, left, faced charges of promoting hatred and appeared in Red Deer, Alberta, in 1985 with his lawyer, Doug Christie, right.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Q&A

Landmark decisions

Richard Pound shows how the Supreme Court has influenced the country.

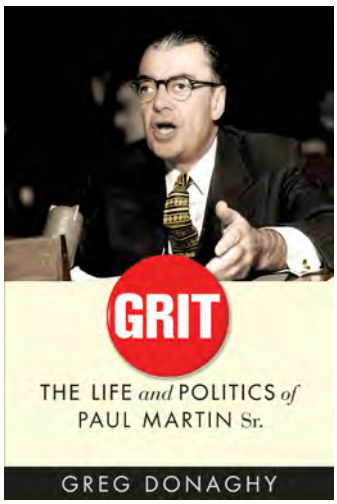
Most Canadians know Richard (Dick) Pound for his efforts to eliminate doping in sports. But the former Olympic swimmer is also a lawyer and author. His latest book is Made in Court: Supreme Court Decisions that Shaped Canada. *Pound spoke recently to editor-in-chief Mark Reid about the book.*

Why did you write *Made In Court*?
I wanted to show some of the many ways the Supreme Court's decisions affect a broad range of Canadians, who may not be aware of the role the court plays in our day-to-day lives.

How much influence has the Supreme Court had on Canada's development?
Only a tiny percentage of the cases that enter the legal system … ever get to the Supreme Court of Canada, but those that do are almost always important. Charter cases, criminal cases, Aboriginal rights issues, administrative law, and civil responsibility principles can have far-reaching impacts on Canadian society. What I hoped to show, at least in part, is that our governments, even though they may occasionally disagree with some decisions, have exhibited great confidence in the quality of our judges and have left great discretion to the courts in matters such as, for example, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, where broad principles have been legislated. But specific applications have been left entirely to the courts to decide, with the Supreme Court of Canada as the final arbiter.

What surprised you most as you wrote the book?
Probably the obvious sincerity of the efforts of the judges to get the right answers — even when there may have been disagreements between them as to a particular outcome. The disagreements are always respectful and are not personalized, as they often are in the United States Supreme Court.

You wrote *Made in Court* to be accessible to both lawyers and lay people. Why?
My idea was to present a broad range of cases, old and new, in a manner that would be accessible to non-lawyers. There is not a single footnote in the book. I tried to give a brief background of each case and what the issues were and then to include some excerpts from the judgments, so that the readers could get a sense of how the court approached each problem and also be exposed to legal writing and reasoning.



INNER FIRE

Grit: The Life and Politics of Paul Martin Sr.

by Greg Donaghy
UBC Press, 489 pages, $39.95

"I am not afraid to be called a politician," declared Paul Martin Sr. "Next to preaching the word of God, there is nothing nobler then to serve one's fellow countrymen in government."

A Catholic and long-time Liberal Cabinet minister from Windsor, Ontario, Martin was dedicated to serving Canadians. The career politician fell just short of leading his party, and perhaps the country, and was eclipsed by his son, Paul Martin Jr., who was prime minister from 2003 to 2006.

Greg Donaghy, head of the historical section at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, has written an eloquent and learned biography of the man who was almost prime minister. Donaghy is a dogged researcher who hunted for materials in Canadian and international archives and interviewed more than forty of Martin's contemporaries, including former prime ministers, ministers, and senior civil servants.

But this is no stodgy academic work laden with impenetrable prose. Donaghy has a flare for drawing out the inner fire and drive of Martin, as well as what motivated him to serve for so long and with such distinction.

And what a story it is. The bilingual Martin entered politics in 1935 and within a decade was serving in Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's wartime Cabinet as secretary of labour. As a progressive, Martin helped to steer and support King's tacking to the left and his embracing of social programs such as the baby bonus.

A strong orator, with flourish and not a bit of excess, Martin was a self-promoter and political climber. Appointed secretary of state in 1945, he was instrumental in guiding into law the 1946 Citizenship Act. This major legislative initiative provided the framework for Canadian citizenship but was not achieved without struggle. It faced opposition from some English Canadians, who felt it would sever their ties with the British Commonwealth. A fierce nationalist, Martin found the necessary compromises and conciliations to win support.

Martin was ambitious — at times transparently so. Adept at cultivating contacts in the media, and sometimes condemned for playing the political game too opportunistically, he aspired to lead the party. But King outmanoeuvred Martin in 1948, when the old warhorse orchestrated his successor, Louis St. Laurent, to win the leadership. Martin was disappointed but continued to play the good soldier. He carried out key negotiations at the United Nations, where he helped to raise Canada's profile as a middle power that aided in conflict resolution.

As minister of health beginning in 1947, Martin brought the polio vaccine to all Canadians in 1955, ending a scourge that had affected hundreds of thousands, including himself as a child. Yet he ached to be secretary of state for external affairs. The position went to Lester B. Pearson, and the two had a rocky relationship over the coming two decades.

Donaghy does not neglect Martin's private life, especially his supportive wife, Nell. While the narrative is centred on Ottawa, Donaghy often shifts his gaze to Windsor and the drudgery of constituency work. Martin dispensed patronage freely, rewarded the loyal, punished those who did not fall into step, and dispatched Conservative opponents at every turn with his well-oiled local political machine.

However, it is as minster responsible for external affairs from 1963 that Martin is best remembered. During the Vietnam War, the Pearson government attempted to walk a fine line between supporting the United States and seeking to temper its escalating violence in Southeast Asia.

Martin was condemned both by Washington and by the Canadian anti-war movement, with the latter labelling him "Paul the Pentagon Puppet." That hurt, as Martin associated himself with the left; but he continued to seek peaceful solutions to the deepening war.

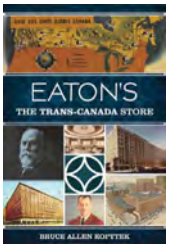
There were other victories and defeats until he failed in his third bid for the party leadership, in 1968. After being appointed to the Senate, where he continued to work on behalf of the Liberals, Martin set out to mark his contributions in a two-volume memoir. It was, like most memoirs, self-serving and episodic. One critic called it "not history, but the material of history." Donaghy has now given us the definitive history.

Reviewed by **Tim Cook**, the author of seven books, including *The Necessary War: Canadians Fighting the Second World War, 1939–1943*. The second volume, *Fight to the Finish*, will be published in September.

TAKING STOCK

Eaton's: The Trans-Canada Store

by Bruce Allen Kopytek
The History Press, 464 pages, $29.99



It has now been fifteen years since Eaton's failed. Even for those of us who grew up shopping there, the memory of the vast department stores is fading. In his new book, author Bruce Kopytek brings it all back.

This is not a critical look at the Eaton family or their business. Kopytek ignores the scholarly work that has been done

about the company's paternalism in the treatment of staff, something he anyway sees as a virtue. He also does not mention that Jews and Italians were unable to get jobs serving the public, although they were sometimes hired to work behind the scenes. And, while there were a few strikes at Eaton's, Kopytek does not give them space in this book.

There have been other survey histories of the Eaton's company, but this book stands out in a couple of ways. First Kopytek is an architect by profession and, with the aid of an impressive collection of photos, he details how the design of the stores evolved both inside and out to suit the changing tastes and habits of shoppers over the decades. Secondly, he shows how Eaton's meant something to people who worked there and to people who shopped there. Kopytek has collected many quotations to illustrate the strong bonds people developed with Eaton's.

The story of Irish immigrant Timothy Eaton and the way he expanded his business from a small dry goods store to one of the largest enterprises in Canada, sent buyers to Britain and Europe to acquire beautiful stock, and developed new services like the mail-order catalogue exactly parallels the growth of similar department stores all over Europe and the Americas.

This kind of retail store reached its zenith in the 1920s, and so did Eaton's. Kopytek shows how Toronto's ambitious College Street store and office complex, begun during that decade but only partly completed, marked the retail empire's high point.

Kopytek clearly admires many members of the Eaton family. Timothy Eaton is presented as a sober Methodist who also happened to have boundless energy and ambition and introduced one innovation after another. He and his wife endured the tragedy of losing all their children except John, known as Sir John. But then he died as an adult, in the early 1920s, of influenza.

The family was fortunate to have an Irish cousin, Robert Young Eaton, who came from Britain and shepherded the company through some of its most important years, including the Depression. Sir John's wife, Flora McCrae Eaton, survived him and made many important contributions to the enterprise, such as insisting that the major stores include first-class restaurants so customers could lunch in style.

Eaton's slowly expanded from its Toronto base, the first big store outside Ontario being the one in Winnipeg, which opened in 1906. Kopytek shows how the company grew by buying smaller store chains like Canadian Department Stores in Ontario and the Maritimes and Spencer's in British Columbia. He also chronicles how Eaton's responded to challenges like shopping malls and the decline of downtown shopping. There are interesting chapters on the Eaton's catalogue and Santa Claus parades.

The era of the big department store was over by the 1990s, and Kopytek has a useful chapter on how the business finally failed in 1999.

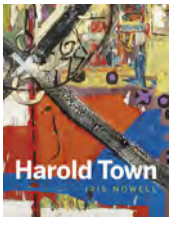
I still have the Timex watch I bought in a Winnipeg Eaton's store on one of the last days it was open. Millions of Canadians will have similar mementoes of the trans-Canada store. If they miss Eaton's, they will love this book.

Reviewed by **Jim Blanchard**, a freelance writer of articles and books about Winnipeg history.

ENFANT TERRIBLE

Harold Town

by Iris Nowell
Figure 1 Publishing, 224 pages, $45



In an artistic career that spanned four decades, Harold Town's facility, versatility, and astonishing output earned him the title "the Picasso of Canada." As a founding member of Painters Eleven, the influential group of southern Ontario artists that included Jack Bush and William Ronald, Town was a vocal, visible proponent of modernism in English Canada.

Just as significantly, the Toronto-based Town was a brilliant self-promoter and headline-stealer, a dandy and man about town, a theatrical personality who could be confrontational, even cruel, but also charismatic. In the 1950s and '60s, he became a popular public figure, known for his predictably outrageous comments on the state of Canadian culture.

In her well-produced and copiously illustrated book, Iris Nowell offers a comprehensive overview of Town's life and work. While adding much-needed depth to the documentation of Town's career, Nowell's approach is marked by some significant blind spots.

Art consultant Nowell has authored seven books, including *Hot Breakfast for Sparrows* (1992), a memoir of her twenty-four-year relationship with Town. Nowell's level of access brings knowledge and specificity to this monograph. Unfortunately, and somewhat oddly, she decides to write from a seemingly neutral position, which results in an uneven tone.

Speaking of Town's prickly personality, his likes and dislikes, his fast friends and sworn enemies (some people ended up being both), Nowell reveals many intimate, obscure — and often unattributed — details. It feels unfair, then, that the book barely mentions Town's wife or children, dispatching that side of his life in one terse statement: "He married Trudie Treadwell in 1957 but had girlfriends throughout his married life, one of them for many years." (Nowell doesn't mention that she was that "one," which seems a bit disingenuous.)

Nowell does better with her chronological coverage of Town's art, which was marked by prodigious talent and tireless experimentation. Town was an inspired colourist, and some of his best works are the bold, bravura abstract expressionist paintings he produced starting in the early 1950s. He was also a gifted draftsman who from a young age felt compelled to draw and who stayed with it, often in the face of prevailing art trends. Nowell quotes Town about his first forays into the medium: "I felt that I was real when I was drawing. I wasn't sure about myself otherwise."

As Nowell relates, Town would labour obsessively on a series of related pieces, sometimes creating hundreds of variations on one visual theme. After the obsession was burned through, he would move on to another subject, style, or technique. He cycled through artistic media, working in drawing, painting, printmaking, collage, assemblage, and sculpture. As Nowell aptly puts it, "his solo

exhibitions looked like group shows." Town's range led to striking originality but also to inconsistency, something Nowell can be reluctant to acknowledge.

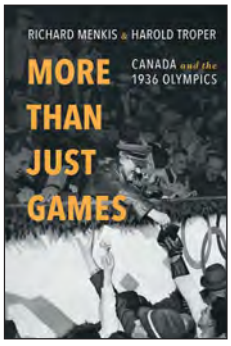
Nowell gives too much weight to minor work, such as the satirical *Enigma* series, which seemed a little too calculated to provoke at the 1964 Venice Biennale, or the overly decorative mixed-media *Stages* series of the late 1980s. Nowell also struggles with Town's towering personality. The man was such a prodigious self-mythologizer that any treatment of his life requires a certain critical distance. As she relates anecdotes about Town being beset by small-minded art school teachers, or timid bureaucrats, or petty critics, Nowell sometimes seems to get caught up in his sweeping personal narrative.

Reading between the lines of Nowell's biographical account, it seems that Town was happiest as an *enfant terrible*. His edge of bitterness widened as he moved from embattled rebel to established artist living in the posh Rosedale neighbourhood and as abstraction ceased being a shocking public scandal and instead became a marker of taste and status. When Town received an honorary doctorate from York University in 1966, *The Globe and Mail* remarked, rather acerbically, "Mr. Town is coming dangerously close to respectability."

Town died in 1990 at age sixty-six, still fighting against mere respectability. Nowell's book celebrates both his outsized personality and his creative legacy.

Reviewed by **Alison Gillmor**, a Winnipeg journalist and art historian.

New from University of Toronto Press

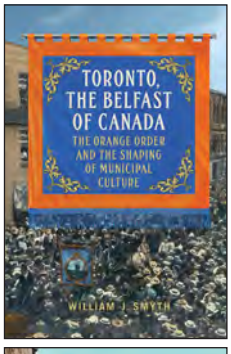


More than Just Games
Canada and the 1936 Olympics

by Richard Menkis and Harold Troper

More Than Just Games is the history of Canada's involvement in the 1936 Olympic Games held in Berlin, Germany.

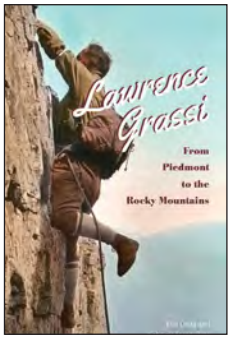
'A compelling story, brilliantly told.'
David Clay Large,
author of *'Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936'*



Toronto, the Belfast of Canada
The Orange Order and the Shaping of Municipal Culture

by William J. Smyth

This book presents the history of how municipal politics in Toronto were so dominated by Irish Protestants of the Orange Order that the city was known as the *'Belfast of Canada.'*



Lawrence Grassi
From Piedmont to the Rocky Mountains

'This is the first complete biography of Lawrence Grassi, the remarkable Italian-Canadian mountaineer, photographer, and trail builder who did so much to open up the Rockies in the vicinity of the Bow Valley corridor to recreational climbing and hiking in the mid-twentieth century.'

Bruce Kidd, *University of Toronto*

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PILLARS OF DEFENCE

Canada's Bastions of Empire: Halifax, Victoria and the Royal Navy 1749–1918

by Bryan Elson
Formac Publishing,
277 pages, $29.95

Rudyard Kipling famously called Halifax "the Warden of the Honour of the North." The heavily fortified port city was a major operating base for the Royal Navy for more than 150 years; it was said that Britain's entire fleet, the largest in the world, could be assembled in its immense harbour.

This North American Gibraltar, along with the smaller west coast naval base at Esquimalt, British Columbia, played as important a role in assuring Canada's nationhood and independence as any Father of Confederation.

In *Canada's Bastions of Empire*, retired Canadian naval officer-turned-author Bryan Elson reminds us that Britain's powerful navy was all that stood in the way of an American invasion of Canada in the nineteenth century. With long stretches of inland border impossible to defend from U.S. attack, British planners saw Halifax and Esquimalt, some six thousand kilome-

tres apart, as keys to victory.

If war broke out, the bases would become staging areas and fuelling depots for British warships blockading U.S. ports, a strategy designed to strangle trade until the Americans were forced to capitulate. "Essentially," Elson writes, "Canada would be defended against the United States by British sea power."

Halifax, founded in 1749 on the eve of the British conquest of New France, became the summer station for the navy's North America and West Indies squadron. A sprawling dockyard, now home to Canada's east coast navy, was built to accommodate the fleet; a hilltop citadel and a network of fortifications protected the harbour from attack from the sea or by land.

Military spending made fortunes for the city's merchants, and an influx of British officers — including George V and other princes who visited while serving in the navy — added a touch of class to Halifax society. The downside was the creation of slums filled with seedy taverns and brothels to serve the rank and file. Elson quotes a popular ditty of the time that warns "young sailor lads" to beware of being seduced and robbed on notorious Barrack Street, which bordered Citadel Hill.

The Royal Navy established a base at Esquimalt on Vancouver Island, next door to Victoria, more than a century later, in 1858. While it never approached the size and importance of Halifax — it was years before anyone bothered to assemble the guns of one defensive battery — this outpost helped to ensure that Canada's west coast did not fall into American hands.

This is military history for military buffs, and many readers will likely skim sections dealing with the minutiae of troop deployments, militia call-ups, and artillery capabilities. And the title is misleading. Much of the book is devoted to the years leading up to the outbreak of the First World War, a period when Britain withdrew its remaining forces from Halifax and Esquimalt and when Canada established a naval service of its own.

By 1914, Canada's "fleet" amounted to just two ships — both of them outdated Royal Navy castoffs — but Elson shows that it made an important contribution early in the war, on both coasts. The cruiser *Niobe*, stationed in Halifax, joined a British squadron hunting for German merchant shipping, while the Esquimalt-based light cruiser *Rainbow* patrolled the Pacific. Fortunately, the ship never encountered a powerful German force lurking in the region — once at sea, it was discovered that *Rainbow*'s ammunition was faulty and could not be fired.

Elson also recounts the story of B.C. Premier Richard McBride's clandestine purchase, hours before war was declared, of two submarines. Built in Seattle for the Chilean navy but unclaimed, they proved to be an effective deterrent; Elson suspects their presence prompted Germany's Pacific raiders to steer clear of Canadian waters.

No invader ever tested the defences of Halifax or Esquimalt. In that sense, these naval bastions served their purpose, protecting Canada without being called upon to fire a single shot in the nation's defence.

Reviewed by **Dean Jobb**, whose latest book, *Empire of Deception* (HarperCollins Canada), tells the stranger-than-fiction story of 1920s Chicago swindler Leo Koretz and his escape to a life of luxury in Nova Scotia.

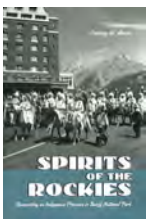
PANDA ASSOCIATES FONDS, CANADIAN ARCHITECTURAL ARCHIVES (PAN 49759-1).

PROJECTING A MODERN CANADA This 1949 image of the Regent gas station in Toronto is one of dozens of remarkable photographs presented in *John C. Parkin, Archives, and Photography: Reflections on the Practice and Presentation of Modern Architecture* (University of Calgary Press, 170 pages, $49.95). The book examines the ideas and work of John C. Parkin as well as the role of photography in promoting modern architecture to an eager and increasingly affluent postwar Canada, particularly through the photographs of Hugh Robertson and his company, Panda Associates.

MORE BOOKS

Spirits of the Rockies: Reasserting an Indigenous Presence in Banff National Park

by Courtney W. Mason
University of Toronto Press,
219 pages, $27.95



"We've never owned the land … the land always has and always will own us," a Nakoda elder told author Courtney W. Mason in 2009. This statement gets to the heart of the misunderstandings between First Nations and Canadian government representatives during the signing of the treaties in the nineteenth century. In the case of the Nakoda, Treaty 7 was seen as a peace treaty, not a surrender of land.

Under the terms of the treaty, the Nakoda were to have retained access to their traditional hunting grounds and sacred healing sites in the area that became Banff National Park. But in fact they were prevented from doing so. It wasn't

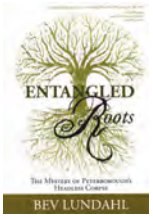
until 2010 that they were welcomed back through the signing of an agreement for an official working relationship between the park and the Nakoda nation.

Mason's *Spirits of the Rockies* explores the Nakoda experience of being excluded from the Banff and Bow Valley region. The author went to great lengths to connect with the Nakoda community to ensure this story was told from their point of view. Earlier histories have often ignored or dismissed the indigenous presence in the region. For instance, Europeans often get credit for being the first to recognize the value of the hot springs in the Rocky Mountains at Banff, but the Nakoda had long viewed the springs as sacred sites with powerful healing qualities.

Mason, a post-doctoral research fellow with the Indigenous Health Research Group at the University of Ottawa, presents a thorough academic analysis. General readers might find chapter one — "Theorizing Power Relations in Colonial Histories," which draws on the ideas of French philosopher Michel Foucault for a theoretical understanding of the power dynamics between Aboriginals and government administrators — somewhat impenetrable. But the reading gets easier in the chapters that follow. — *Nelle Oosterom*

Entangled Roots: The Mystery of Peterborough's Headless Corpse

by Bev Lundahl
Your Nickel's Worth Publishing,
184 pp., $17.95



The 1894 death of David Scollie in Peterborough, Ontario, has been a mystery for many years. Author Bev Lundahl — descended from the sister of Hessie Gray, the Irish woman accused of Scollie's death — did extensive research to try to piece together the truth in her book *Entangled Roots*.

While David Scollie was asleep in the upstairs of his home, a fire broke out. Hessie Gray and her four children were sleeping downstairs. She managed to break a window to get her family to safety, but the fire destroyed the house and took Scollie's life. It also left the law with an enigma: Although Scollie's body was found, his head appeared to be missing.

An inquiry ruled the fire an accident, but this did not answer the question of the missing body part. A trial ensued. Suspicion was cast on Gray when her sister, Mary McGregor (Lundahl's great-grandmother), gave damaging evidence: "Mrs. Gray had threatened to shoot Scollie, and I told her not to do it." Gray's husband, Thomas, was also a suspect, although he was away at the time of the incident.

The Gray family had an agreement with Scollie to take care of him, and his house and farmland, which they were to inherit upon his death. Three men from the Hiawatha Reserve, who came upon Scollie's body in the debris, played a part in the events but, inexplicably, were never allowed to testify. No one was found guilty of murder.

Lundahl complements her research

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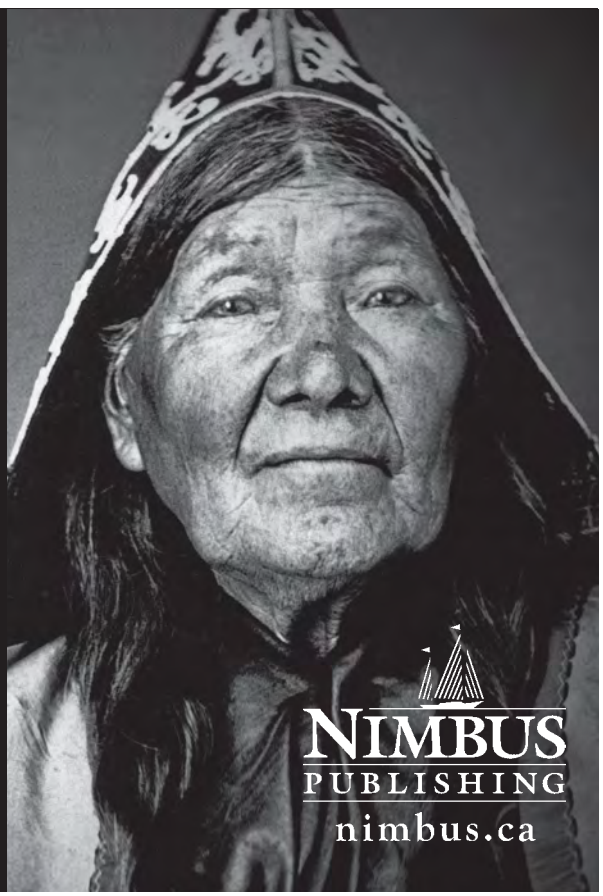

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with an interesting blend of historic photos, trial transcript questions and answers, family trees, and quotations. Her search leaves some questions unanswered, but the book is nonetheless a fascinating journey. — *Beverley Tallon*

Laying the Children's Ghosts to Rest: Canada's Home Children in the West

by Sean Arthur Joyce
Hagios Press, 352 pp., $18.95

In *Laying the Children's Ghosts to Rest*, freelance writer and British Columbia historian Sean Arthur Joyce explores the often forgotten stories of British children who were sent to Canada and Australia to work between 1869 and 1949. The book was inspired by Joyce's discovery that he is one of the millions of descendants of the approximately one hundred thousand "home children" who came to Canada.

When the children were sent overseas, they experienced various types of living conditions. Some were sent to good homes, some to places where they were terribly mistreated, and some to Catholic-run institutions like Australia's Christian Brothers.

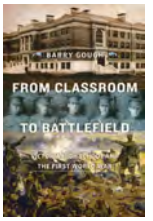
By including photographs of children and of other individuals involved with the home children, as well as references to literature such as Annie Macpherson's *The Little Matchbox-Makers* and the work of Charles Dickens, Joyce paints a picture of the despair and extreme poverty some of these children faced. This combines with the author's significant research to make for a compelling story.

One of the biggest challenges Joyce faced was in tracking down his own family history. He discovered that his grandfather Cyril was a home child and learned that Cyril had very infrequently talked about his past and his emigration to Canada.

As a reader, you begin to realize that Joyce is not just discovering who his grandfather was but also how that affects who Sean Joyce is today. This is apparent in his realization: "It seems to have fallen to me to heal the wound I inherited, the same as if it happened to me. And so Cyril comes full circle in the footsteps of a grandson he barely knew." — *Katie Dahl*

From Classroom to Battlefield: Victoria High School and the First World War

by Barry Gough
Heritage House, 256 pp., $19.95



When the First World War broke out, groups of young men rushed to enlist. Promised an adventure, they instead found themselves in one of the world's deadliest conflicts.

The war's impact was especially poignant in schools where most of the student body went overseas. Many soldiers returned only as part of hallway memorials to the war dead.

At Victoria High School, five hundred students, recent graduates, and teachers traded in their pens for guns. *From Classroom to Battlefield* highlights combatants such as Sir Arthur Currie, who taught at the school and went on to command the Canadian Corps.

Author and historian Barry Gough, a student at the school in the 1950s, based his book on newspaper stories, memoirs, interviews, and other records. He takes a year-by-year approach and follows combatants overseas and back home again — if they returned. — *Danelle Cloutier*

From the West Coast to the Western Front: British Columbians and the Great War

by Mark Forsythe and Greg Dickson
Harbour Publishing, 261 pp., $26.95

While the Great War was fought by Canadians from all parts of the country, it's fair to say that each region had a different First World War experience. Quebec's war was certainly different from Ontario's, and British Columbia's experience differed from Prince Edward Island's.

From the West Coast to the Western Front, written by a pair of CBC journalists, offers a West Coast perspective of the war. Featuring many previously unpublished photos of British Columbians who served at home and overseas, it's a good addition to the growing number of regional histories of the First World War. — *Mark Collin Reid*

CANADA'S HISTORY TOP SELLERS

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Summer idyll

Two sisters sit on a blanket at an Ontario lakeside circa 1910–15. They are accompanied by two young children on what appears to be a pleasant summer day.

The sisters' father was a cousin of Alexander Graham Bell. However, Suzie, centre left, and Jenny, behind her, had a difficult home life. Both girls married young, and the children to the sides of the photo are Suzie's eldest.

Suzie's husband, Jack Mossop, ran a successful sporting goods company in Toronto, while Jenny, who left school at age fourteen to work, met and married a banker, Loman Newsom. Newsom's employer, the Canadian Bank of Commerce, transferred him first to Melfort, Saskatchewan, and then, as bank manager, to Elgin and Miami in Manitoba.

Suzie's hair, pulled back with long curls, is in a style popularized by Canadian-born silent film star Mary Pickford. Unlike many photos from this era, none of the subjects is looking directly at the camera — everyone seems absorbed instead by what they are doing or by something going on outside the frame of the photo.

Submitted by Daryl Moad of Winnipeg, the eldest grandchild of Jenny Newsom.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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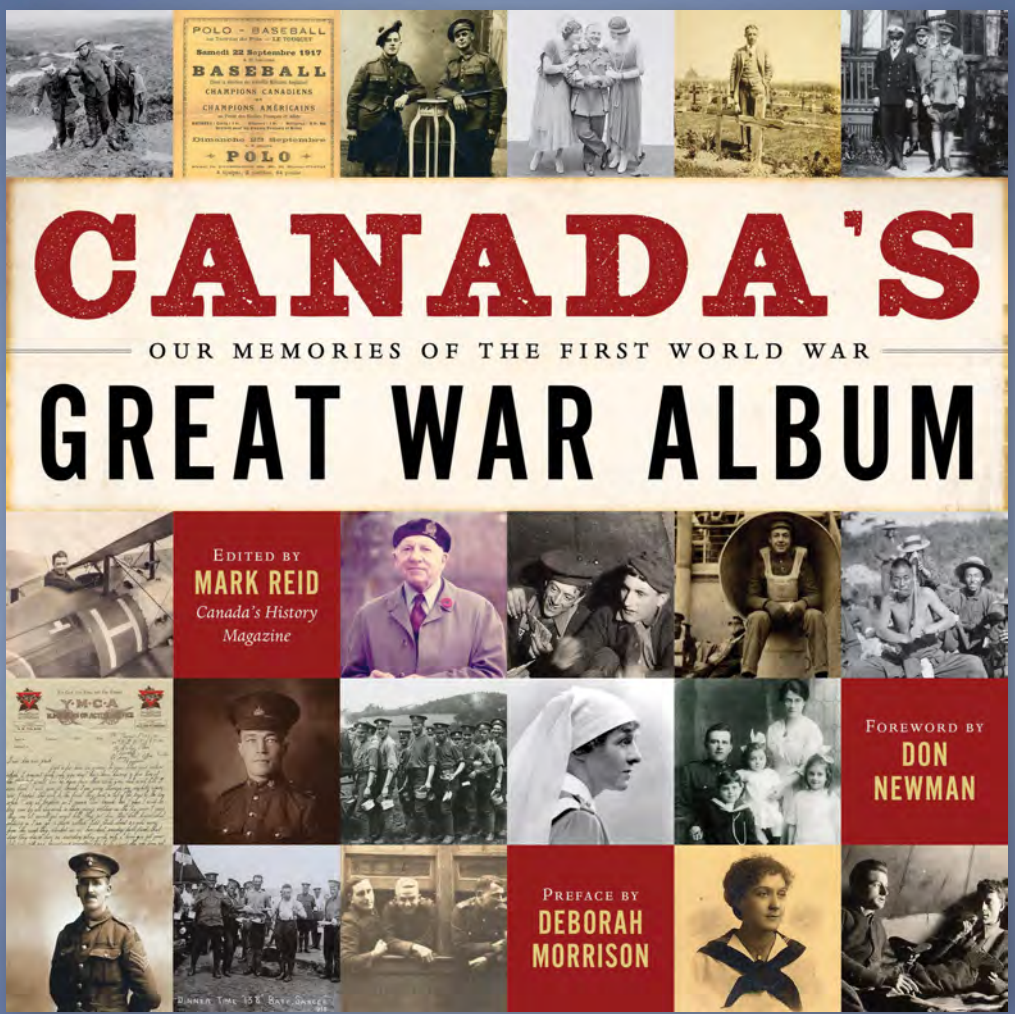

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